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Cooperation Protocol Signed With Italy

AU3011144090 Tirana ATA in English 1050 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—The protocol of the first session of the Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Italian Republic was signed in Rome. For the Albanian party the protocol was signed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and for the Italian party by the minister of foreign trade, Renato Ruggero.

Attending the signing ceremony were representatives of the Ministry of Italian Foreign Affairs and firms, as well as the members of the two delegations. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the Italian Republic, Dashnor Dervishi.

On the basis of this protocol, the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the PSR of Albania and the Italian Republic will be conducted in the sectors of the mineral extraction and processing, energy, light and food stuff industry, agriculture, building material industry, transport etc.

Foreign Trade Minister Comments

AU0212150890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci, who led the Albanian delegation at the meeting of the Albanian-Italian Joint Economic Commission, returned home today.

On his arrival, Shane Korbeci told the ATA correspondent that the meeting of the first session of the Albanian-Italian Joint Economic Commission was concluded with complete success.

In the context of financial cooperation, the Italian side will contribute through investments for the construction of four projects in our country—namely, a factory for the production of children's foodstuffs, the reconstruction of the wool yarn factory at the Tirana Textile Combine, the electrification of the Elbasan-Prrenjas railroad, and the reconstruction of the Kalimsh chrome enrichment plant. Specialists representing the firms of both countries are conducting negotiations for the construction of these projects, and work is to begin in the first half of 1991.

During the Italian conference, the delegation held meetings with representatives of Italian industry and commerce, such as A. Pittini, president of the large industrial group Pittini; G. Cagliari, president of the ENI State Company, and others, with whom talks were held and agreements concluded to compile programs of cooperation between Italian and Albanian enterprises. The Pittini industrial group and the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine will draft a long-term cooperation project for the gradual technological renovation of the combine. The ENI State Company will cooperate in oil and gas exploration projects in our country.

To promote and give concrete form to economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, the two sides agreed to hold negotiations during the first half of 1991 on a bilateral agreement concerning the protection of investments, banking cooperation, and an agreement between the customs authorities of both countries.

Alia Sends Message to Romania on National Day

AU3011151490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Romanian President Ion Iliescu:

On the occasion of Romania's National Day, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and I, personally, convey to you warm greetings. Furthermore, through you, to the friendly Romanian people, I send my best wishes for their happiness and the country's continuing development.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my belief that the relations of traditional friendship and cooperation in various fields between Albania and Romania will continue to develop in the future in the mutual interest of our peoples, peace, and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe.

Vietnamese Trade Unions Delegation Departs 30 Nov

AU0212140590 Tirana ATA in English 1100 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 1 (ATA)—On November 30, the delegation of the Trade Unions Federation of Vietnam, headed by the president of this federation, Nguyen Van Thu, which at the invitation of the General Council of the TUA [Trade Unions of Albania], paid a friendly visit to our country, left Albania .

It was seen off at the airport by Sotir Kocollari, president of the General Council of the TUA and other comrades.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Vietnam to the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Nguyen Chi Thanh.

In the course of its stay in our country the delegation visited work and production centers in some districts of the country, as in Kruje, Durres, berat, Fier, and Vlore. In meetings and talks with workers, activists of the trade union organizations, and leading cadres opinions were exchanged on the current national and international developments, the process of the democratization of the

life in the two countries, as well as on the role and functions of the trade unions in this process.

The delegation of the Trade Unions Federation of Vietnam attended the main activities conducted in Tirana on occasion of November 28-29 festivities.

National Day Celebrations Held; Leaders Attend

AU3011143690 Tirana ATA in English 1950 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—The Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers gave a reception at the Palace of Brigades on November 29, on occasion of the National Day of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania.

Attending were heroes of the people and of socialist labor, distinguished workers and cooperativists, deputies,and counsellors, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, working people, leading cadres of the central departments, institutions, and mass organisations, etc.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani; comrades Foto Cami, Hekuran Isai, Besnik Bekteshi, Kico Mustaqi, Hajredin Celiku, Simon Stefani, Llambi Gegprifti, Niko Gjyzari, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali; the secretary of the Party Central Committee, Abdyl Backa; the vice- chairmen of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu; the chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, Shefqet Peci; members of the Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and government.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR of Albania.

Those present were greeted by the member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Hekuran Isai, who said among others:

The attained victories are an expression of the determination of our people, of their creative potential, an expression of their vitality on the road of socialism. At present in order to keep pace with the requirements of the present we should march onward at faster rates. The measures we are adopting for the democratization of the life of the society and of our entire country serve this end. The progress of the economy stands on the foundation of everything. The recent measures have opened up new vistas to solve many economic problems.

The processes of democratization and modernisation underway are irreversible and unstoppable. They are undertaken consciously by our party and Comrade Ramiz Alia as demands of the inner developments and changes in the world.

The 12th plenum of the Party Central Committee and the 8th session of the People's Assembly mark a new stage on the road of the country's further democratization. They set the necessity of revising he country's constitution, particularly for a more clear redefinition of the party's role from state functions and work, of consolidating the basis of the juridical state, of strengthening the relations with the world in the economic field and financial cooperation.

In the relations with the world, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has pursued and pursues an active policy in the interest of peace, in support of the positive processes of detente. The stands we are adopting towards these processes show that we are correctly reflecting on these changes.

Albania has been and is for all-sided understanding and cooperation, for relations of friendship and mutual respect with all the countries, with the Balkan and neighboring ones in particular, it is joining its efforts with those for the European security and cooperation and broader. According to our opinion, European security is guaranteed when cooperation is extended also in the economic field to eliminate the differences actually existing between a group of states and another.

The reception proceeded in a very joyful atmosphere.

Alia Pays Tribute to Martyrs in Elbasan

AU3011143890 Tirana ATA in English 1100 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—On November 29, the people of Elbasan District honored with profound veneration the unforgettable memory of the sons and daughters who laid down their lives for the freedom of the homeland. Veterans, relatives of the martyrs, workers, militarymen, youngsters, and pioneers of Enver went to the martyrs' graves of the district, where they paid homage and laid bouquets of flowers near the graves of the fallen.

At 10.00 Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, went there to pay homage. He was accompanied by the first secretary of the district party committee, Sulejman Pepa, and the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, Fatmir Gjergji.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was welcomed with applause by hundreds of Elbasan people and he met and greeted them cordially.

By the obelisk Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a wreath on behalf of the Party Central Committee.

While the wind orchesra played the National Anthem, Comrade Ramiz Alia honored with the fist up.

Likewise, Comrade Ramiz Alia laid bouquets of flowers on the symbolic grave of the people's hero, Qemal Stafa, and on the grave of the outstanding patriot, Aleksander Xhuvani.

People's Assembly Elections Set for 10 Feb 91

AU0212150490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] In accordance with Articles 68 and 77 of the Constitution and Article 45 of Law No. 7423—dated 13 November 1990 on elections to the People's Assembly—the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided that elections for deputies to the People's Assembly for the 12th legislature will be held on Sunday, 10 February 1991.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 1 December 1990.

Decree No. 7433.

On behalf of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

[Signed] Ramiz Alia, chairman; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Carcani Attends Aktiv on New Economic Mechanism

AU0212144290 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 1 (ATA)—On November 30, the party committee of Tirana District organized in the Palace of Congresses an activists' meeting, which discussed on the work carried out, the results attained and on some problems emerging to speed up the process of the implementation of the new economic mechanism.

Attending were also Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Party Central Committee, and first secretary of the District Party Committee, and other comrades. The report and contributions held in this meeting pointed out the results attained by the experimentation to apply the new economic mechanism, the lessons drawn and the measures that should be taken to speed up this process etc. In implementing the tasks set by the party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, the activists' meeting underscored that at present more than 1251 production units and links have applied independent account management. Out of them 13 enterprises realized or overfulfilled the economic financial indices, whereas for the third quarter of the year 12 out of them gave supplementary payment equal to 1.4 million leks. Consequently, about 9 thousand workers earned averagely 154 leks each.

At the activists' meeting the floor was taken also by Comrade Adil Carcani, who said among others that the content of the rules of self-financing and the workers' sharing in the enterprise's profits is not merely an economic one, but also political and social. Their correct application and of all the other elements of this mechanism leads not only to the growth of production and services, but also to the increase of the real incomes of the working people, as basic index of their welfare, to the employment of the new able-bodied forces the country's demographic growth offers, as well as to the augmentation of the budget revenues serving the implementation of the social policy of our party. It is important to understand that the implementation of the levers of new economic mechanism and other elements of the economic reform the party has undertaken at mature paces, have to do directly with the improvement of the socialist relations in production and through them with the development of the productive forces. The essence of the current economic reform, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed, stands on the harmonization of the interests of the society with those of the collective and the individual and on the enhancement of responsibility at work of every worker, cadre, and specialist for the fulfillment of the tasks of production,service etc.

After assessing the hitherto achievements at work for the application of the new economic mechanism in Tirana District, Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt on some problems the attention of the party and the state and economic organs in the district should focus upon in the future. He drew attention on the extension of this mechanism in the research-scientific, cultural, artistic, and sport institutions, due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of these institutions perform their activity in Tirana. Likewise, Comrade Adil Carcani laid the stress on the need of examination of the financial encouragement of the enterprise even when it overfulfill the state centralized net income and of the improvement of their organizational structures, of the enlivening of the business at home and abroad, etc.

The hitherto positive results of the experimentation of the new economic mechanism, he pointed out, makes us optimistic of the correctness of the party's policy regarding the further democratization of our socialist economy and life. There will not be a step backward on the road of the democratization of the economic, political, and social life of the country, the road we ourselves have chosen. The 12th plenum of the Party Central Committee underscored such a thing, Comrade Adil Carcani said in conclusion.

Consultations on Forming New Government Continue

AU3011221990 Sofia BTA in English 2130 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—Until the beginning of next week Bulgaria will live ruled by an acting cabinet. Today, the resignation of Mr. Lukanov's one-party Socialist cabinet was accepted in parliament, and it became clear that only two points of the agreement between the political forces were clear: The resignation of the cabinet and the formulation of the future "national government of the peaceful transition to democracy".

The consultations of the leaders of the political forces were continued today in the afternoon, but none of the participants who agreed to be interviewed by journalists mentioned any names.

The only thing one could grasp from the talks in the lobbies was that there probably is an understanding, according to which the future prime minister should be a representative neither of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party, nor of any of the 18 parties and organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

But having in mind the present catastrophic situation in Bulgaria, it will be difficult to find an uncommitted personality whose qualities would make him eligible to head the new cabinet, which something that is clear to all will not rule for more than four or five months.

The members of different parliamentary factions and unions often mention Mr. Ginyo Ganev as the most probable candidate. In the last months the 62-year-old jurist has gained a lot of prestige, because he is the only one who can maintain some kind of order during the stormy parliamentary sittings in his capacity of deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly. He is not a party member, he worked at the Ministry of Power Engineering for many years and in the last years of the totalitarian regime he was in the leadership of the formal Fatherland Front public organization. When in the spring of this year the organization was renamed Fatherland Union, he was elected its chairman. The organization itself will probably disintegrate, because in the past it existed thanks to the subsidies it got from the state and it was only by resorting to compulsion that it managed to maintain its prestige of being "the broadest public and political organization".

The opposition would hardly be delighted with his nomination, because Mr. Ganev was a member of the ostentatious State Council for four years and has a 12-year-long service as member of the even more ostentations National Assembly in Zhivkov's time. But the lack of other more eligible candidates uncommitted to one or another party and Mr. Ganev's constructive activity in parliament, could give him a chance.

This evening Mr. Ganev went on television to say that up to now he had received no offer to head the new cabinet.

Mr. Todor Vulchev is the other probable candidate mentioned in the lobbies. He is a professor in economy, non-party member and a specialist in the problems of market economy in the developed countries. But according to some M.P.'s he had declined the offer to take the prime minister's chair several times.

Unexpected nominations are also possible. It seems that consensus has been reached only on forming a cabinet that would be approved by all groups in parliament.

The consultations between the political forces are to be resumed on Saturday [1 December].

SDS' Ludzhev: No Appointments Yet

AU3011163890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] According to Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the consultations among political forces are still in progress.

As a participant in the talks, he declared to a BTA reporter that the idea of a jointly acceptable government has been launched in view of the great responsibilities and the difficult future which is facing us all in connection with the reform process.

The functions, tasks, and deadlines for the future government's activities, its relations with parliament, and its obligation to work within the framework of a political consensus are currently being discussed. As far as names are concerned, the chances of individual figures are being examined, but no appointments have been proposed, therefore any mention of specific names is useless and would be premature for the time being, Dimitur Ludzhev pointed out.

Prime Minister To Be 'Neutral Figure'

AU0212140890 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)—The political forces represented in parliament today continued their consultations on drafting an agreement on the future government and the further work of the Grand National Assembly.

Mr. Petur Kornazhev MP of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, vice president of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces, said in a televised interview this evening that the participants in the consultations were considering "several" candidates for prime minister. The prevalent view was that the new head of government should be a politically neutral figure.

Evidently, there are no differences on the future work of parliament: Law-making will be assigned priority and the Grand National Assembly will not busy itself with the tasks of the executive branch.

No agreement has been reached so far on the future elections which will be held next spring. The political forces

have yet to agree whether a new parliament and local authorities will be elected simultaneously or separately.

The consultations on the political deal will continue tomorrow, Sunday.

Agreement Expected by 4 Dec

AU0212184890 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—By Tuesday [4 December], when the Grand National Assembly is scheduled to meet, the major political forces should have concluded their consultations in the wake of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's resignation, a participant in the talks on behalf of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) told the BTA today. A political agreement will be drafted on the character and the composition of the new government, on the work of parliament and on the national mass media.

The candidate for the prime minister's post, who has the most chances now, is Mr. Ginyo Ganev, currently deputy chairman of parliament, but it is still too early to say how certain this is as well as to name other names in the new cabinet.

The participants in the consultations today considered in detail the work of parliament and the priority legislation that has to be passed. The land act and the local self-government act were placed first. A deadline in January will be probably set for the passage of the laws on privatization, on foreign investments, on banks and on commodity and stock exchanges.

The tasks of the new government were on the agenda of the consultations, too. This is not a program but specific tasks. For the time being it can be said that an agreement has been reached that the prime minister's job should go to a neutral and authoritative figure. It is still debatable whether the deputies of the future premier should be representatives of the political parties or experts backed by the parties.

Today the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] Coordinating Council met with representatives of the SDS provincial branches. They insisted that the local elections be held as soon as possible.

"The people in the provinces are much more impatient for change and much more resolute than us," a high-ranking SDS official told the BTA.

It was decided to hold a National SDS Conference in Plovdiv on December 7 and 8.

Socialist Party Endorses Lukanov's Resignation

AU3011221090 Sofia BTA in English 2144 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) indirectly endorsed the resignation of Mr. Lukanov's cabinet, but it seems that there is a serious dissension in the party's leadership.

In the announcement of the BSP Press Centre made this evening it is said that the Supreme Council approves the political agreement on forming a new government of the peaceful transition to democracy.

This euphemism by which the leadership of the former communist party reacted to Mr. Lukanov's resignation has been probably used because of the sharp division of opinion in the BSP Supreme Council, something the journalists learnt today in the parliamentary lobbies.

Last night the sitting of the Supreme Council lasted for more than eight hours. The disputes were violent and dramatic charges were exchanged. At least half of the Supreme Council members categorically opposed Lukanov's resignation and accused their opponents of "treachery". A BTA reporter heard the following dramatic story from a member of parliament: When Lukanov had to leave the sitting and go to the Bulgarian Television to record his declaration in which he announced his resignation, the women in the Supreme Council blocked the doors of the session hall forming a "live chain" to prevent him from going out.

The utterly intemperate statements made in parliament today by two women MPs of the BSP faction and by another MP who left the faction of his party after making sharp charges against the "new red top crust" suggest that the governing body of the Socialist Party would probably split up.

Today's session of the BSP Supreme Council lasted four hours.

In the official announcement, it is said that the political situation in the country and the BSP future activity were discussed in detail at the session.

Lukanov Reaffirms Reasons Behind Resignation

AU3011192290 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—At the farewell news conference Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov gave today he confirmed he had resigned for the sake of national concord and not under the pressure exerted by the strike and the street drives.

Mr. Lukanov leaves his prime minister's chair "much more tired and less naive". In February he hoped he could form an efficient government of national unity which would rely on a strong parliamentary majority and broad public support in the hard times of reform.

The former prime minister underlined that the government had proved its capability of acting composedly and within the frameworks of law. In his opinion the political strike has "undoubtedly failed". He said he would not

have given in his resignation, had an agreement between the political forces been not reached.

According to Mr. Lukanov the tense situation in the country in the last days helped the political forces realize that it was necessary to reach consensus.

I have not thought of it and nobody has offered it to me, he said in answer to the question if he would head the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Mr. Lukanov added that "those who predict fatal consequences to a party that is one hundred years old" as a result of his resignation "are wrong." The further delay of the renewal of the party, the settlement of the problem of its property and responsibility and of the other problems which public opinion is concerned about are much more dangerous, he stated.

In reply to the BTA he said that in the last days he made "enormous efforts and personally interceded with the Soviet Government" to secure Soviet petrol supplies to Bulgaria. Mr. Lukanov pointed out the necessity of stabilizing the Bulgarian economy, because the goods which could immediately and without any problems be sold in the international market account for only 10 to 15 percent of the Bulgarian export to the Soviet Union.

Lukanov Allegedly Was Ready To Call in Troops

AU0112211490 Sofia BTA in English 2020 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)—Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, who resigned yesterday, was ready to send special counterterrorist police units to the Petrochemical Works in Burgas earlier this week to prevent the growth of the general strike.

This is evident from a statement by Mr. Ognyan Krumov, chairman of the Strike Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, quoted in today's "TRUD."

When he found that the workers of the Burgas-based Neftokhim, the largest state-run company in Bulgaria, would join the strike declared on Monday [26 November] by the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, the trade union organisation which supports the opposition, Mr. Lukanov reportedly said. "I won't allow that. If necessary, I'll call in the special forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but the operation of the combined works will not stop."

At the same time Mr. Lukanov tried to order the BTA and National Radio and Television to impose a news blackout on the progress of the sprawling general strike. He threatened to have the media chiefs tried for incitement.

When the number of strikers exceeded one million on Thursday, Mr. Lukanov finally said he was resigning. Later on, at a meeting of his party's leadership he described the strike as "pitiful."

The Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party and its daily "DUMA" lashed out against everybody who demanded the resignation of the Socialist cabinet. They used particularly strong language against the leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria Prof. Dr. Krustyu Petkov when his confederation joined the strike. By the way, that trade union organisation has not yet called off its strike because it insists on an early publication of the text of the deal between the major political forces represented in parliament, which has been in making for a third day now. At least 60,000 people are still on strike, along with students sitting in at 70 higher educational establishments.

In today's "TRUD" Prof. Petkov attributes the invectives against his stand to the fact that he is a former member of the Communist Party and, in his capacity as former head of a sociological institute, he has had access to previously classified studies discrediting the Communists. In 1982 merely 27 per cent of the members of Todor Zhivkov's Communist Party were workers, Prof. Petkov reveals. The party leadership at that time doctored the data and reported this figure as 56 percent.

Minister Justifies Police Moves To Clear Streets

AU0212181190 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs, says that the police "stayed within the law" when it tried to reopen to traffic some of the busiest junctions in Sofia blocked by protesters this year.

"At some of the junctions the police saw itself compelled to use force within the methods prescribed by the law," Mr. Penev said in a statement for the BTA.

He admits that two students were "hit" when the police tried to disperse the people blocking the Eagle's Bridge intersection in central Sofia last Wednesday [28 November]. After they failed the policemen retreated. The blockade of six junctions was lifted on Thursday, immediately after the news that Mr. Lukanov was going to resign.

However, the minister of internal affairs recalls that a policeman was injured, too. The two students were "insolently disobedient", the minister recalls. In his words, they were not beaten anywhere else except at the junction.

During the week the striking students accused the police of having beaten up their two colleagues at a police station.

Mr. Penev says that in its actions the police is guided solely by the law and that its operations have been commented "from the viewpoint of a certain political expediency which serves definite political forces and purposes."

Further on Handling of Demonstrations

AU3011164490 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 28 Nov 90 p 9

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Pencho Penev by Iliana Doncheva; place and date not given: "Responsibility Above All Things"]

[Doncheva] Can you describe the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs in connection with the observance of law and order in the country in recent days?

[Penev] In recent weeks and days the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs can be described as very tense. The polarization of our political life makes the protection of law and order increasingly difficult in view of numerous mass demonstrations. Over the past week, for example, there were demonstrations in Sofia every single day. Our men are overworked, but they have to resist. Their sense of responsibility should prevail over all other considerations. I will take advantage of this opportunity to express my gratitude to all employees of the ministry.

[Doncheva] Can you provide any guarantees that the possible interference of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs during extreme situations will always be to the benefit of the community and that no offenses against the law will occur?

[Penev] Such guarantees are evident from many points of view.

In the first place, all employees of the Internal Affairs' Ministry are familiar with their rights and obligations. In this respect we conducted a broad educational campaign. The awareness of one's rights and obligations, however, should never divert us from our fundamental tasks—namely, the preservation of public order and peaceful life in our country, and the protection of citizens against physical assaults, and the protection of their property.

In the second place, the nationwide, supra-party interests, which the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs are defending today, provide additional guarantees. Our employees are implementing an exceptionally important state task. The adoption of the Law on Political Parties, which led to the depoliticization of the law and order organs, played a very positive role in this respect.

The third guarantee is provided by the high standard of professionalism in our work to which we are all aspire. All our employees are expected to act as highly qualified specialists because if this were not the case their interference might become counterproductive.

[Doncheva] Do you have any misgivings about pressure from the streets getting out of control and do you think that conflict situations might emerge as a result?

[Penev] Frankly speaking, such misgivings exist. Extremist groups and forces are arising. If no way to overcome the political confrontation in parliament and outside the National Assembly can be found and if some people try to increase tension instead of calming the atmosphere, then this might happen. I already expressed my misgivings in parliament, but it seems that they did not understand me properly.

Despite our acute shortage of specialized technical equipment we are establishing specialized subunits for the struggle against mass unrest, following the example of the developed democratic countries. Thus we have certain prerequisites guaranteeing that we will not let things get out of control. However, it is more important to avert such situations entirely. Therefore the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are especially concerned about preserving their preventive functions. In all inhabited settlements throughout the country we have established very good mutual relations with all political forces represented in parliament and with all forces outside the parliament whose activities are based on democratic principles. This is a great help to us in exercising our preventive functions. In addition to this, we are closely observing those extremist groups which are likely to take advantage of the complicated political situation to provoke disruptions of public order.

[Doncheva] Are you convinced that the security organs will always be in their place to protect law and order, and the citizens' peaceful lives?

[Penev] Yes, indeed. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has acquired a completely new image today. The majority of the recent changes were initiated and pursued by Mr. Semerdzhiev, my predecessor who is now vice president of the Republic. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was relieved of cadres who had disgraced themselves and a 50-percent reduction in the security forces was implemented. The Sixth Department, which actually exerted the functions of a political police force, was abolished, and the special security administration was separated from the Internal Affairs Ministry and is now subordinate to the president's office. The same applies to the intelligence service which is also subordinate to the president's office, while military counterintelligence is part of the Ministry of National Defense, and the prisons' administration was transferred to the Ministry of Justice. The criminal investigation department is also expected to be separated from us and subject to the legal organs.

A total cadre reorganization was carried out in the leadership of the National Service for the Defense of the Constitution.

The differences between the status of the State Security Department, the Militia, and the Fire Department were eliminated. The Council of Ministers has adopted a special decree on this question—namely Decree No. 118 of 20 November 1990.

We are now working on drafting a modern system of incentives likely to encourage professional standards and successful achievements in crime detection, and to improve the efficiency of our work as a whole. The

comprehensive legal basis of the Ministry of Internal Affairs activities has changed.

I am convinced that we are proceeding along the correct path for our renewal.

I was very pleased to learn that according to last week's polls, the people's confidence in our institution has increased by four points as compared with the past. I hope this is a lasting trend.

[Doncheva] What, as a last word, would you like to tell your subordinates?

[Penev] That they should be calm and self-confident. Such qualities are absolutely required for their work and are always useful to the state. They should strive for high professional standards. They should rely on the strict application of the laws.

Podkrepa Spokesman Discusses Cessation of Strike

AU3011174590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Interview with Dr. Krustyu Krustev, chairman of the National Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation by Petur Donchev in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Donchev] Dr. Krustev, my first and only question to you is whether the Podkrepa Labor Federation intends to support the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria in their intention to pursue the strike?

[Krustev] Our trade unions are pursuing their strike, but not one of them is striking against the Grand National Assembly where the political forces have almost finally adopted their program on the timetable for their war on several draft laws. We will not support the strike against the National Assembly. Why?

First of all, because it is urgently required to alleviate the political tension, once we have achieved our goal.

In the second place, we rely on Mr. Zhelev's and Mr. Ganev's reassurances and on the reassurance of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Parliamentary Group, that the government will be elected within the new few days.

In the third place, because we cannot possibly hold a strike against the political forces, such as the Bulgarian National Agrarian Ungn [BNZS] or the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] for example. We cannot organize a strike against specific political parties, or against the legislative organ.

We will not support the Independent Trade Unions Confederation for another reason, namely because it became evident that the leaders of the aforementioned organization are issuing instructions on who should go on strike, and even designating specific plants where the strike should take place, while we are just launching appeals for a strike. We will not support them because they explained their initial reluctance to join the strike by pointing out the great social tension and the economic and political crisis as reasons for abstaining from the strike, and with the same argument they joined the strike on the last day.

KNSB Leader Announces Split; Denounces BSP

AU3011201190 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) [KNSB], Prof. Krustyu Petkov, announced today that the CITUB would split.

He accused some trade unionists who are close to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) of trying to block the strike declared yesterday by the CITUB in support of the general strike organized by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the CITUB subscription for a "no-confidence vote" in the Grand National Assembly. These people made an attempt at a "takeover." They moved for the resignation of Prof. Petkov at last night's dramatic sitting of the CITUB Coordinating Council.

What proportions the split has assumed will become clear at the extraordinary congress of the CITUB to be held in the first six months of next year.

Prof. Petkov sharply attacked the leadership of the BSP which provoked the split by setting up a new socialist trade union organization called Edinstvo (Unity). He complained of "the strongly deformed by totalitarianism middle-level nomenklature" which was impeding the efforts to turn the CITUB into a strong national trade union organization and predicted that trade unionism in Bulgaria would develop at least in three directions.

About 40 thousand members of the CITUB are still on strike and a lot of others are on strike alert, demanding the formation of an efficient government. According to Prof. Petkov about half a million people gave their signatures in support of the demand for a "no-confidence vote" in the Grand National Assembly.

Strikes Reportedly Will Continue

AU0112152990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Telephone report by Petur Donchev on interview with Ognyan Krumov, deputy chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, KNSB, and chairman of the union's strike committee, at KNSB headquarters in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Donchev] I am at the headquarters of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions [KNSB] in Sofia. The confederation's strike committee is receiving continuous reports on strike actions throughout the country. With me now is Ognyan Krumov, chairman of the strike committee.

[Krumov] The KNSB is continuing the strike actions. Reports are reaching us continuously.

I would like once again to declare our position and explain why the confederation has continued its strike actions. We are not deeply convinced by the fact that in parliament yesterday a decision was adopted concerning the reaching of a political agreement—an agreement, however, which has still not been reached nor signed by the political forces. This provides no guarantees that, in the final analysis, our basic trade union demands can be fulfilled. This gives us no guarantees that a true working government can be formed, that parliament really has a genuine working schedule for adopting the necessary laws, and that, in the final event, life in our country can be brought back to normal.

[Donchev] Mr. Krumov, can you give us some concrete facts, now that it has become clear that you are still continuing your strike?

[Krumov] Yes, it is true that many of our organizations are continuing various forms of strike action. Specifically, there will once again be a token strike tonight at Sofia's airport, with a warning of effective strike action unless our demands are fulfilled.

Regarding the general situation in the country, according to the summary reports which we have available from about 50 municipalities, in these 50 municipalities over 50,000 people are engaged in token or effective strike actions. Of course, information is still coming in from other municipalities.

The miners at Rudozem are on strike, and our organizations have declared readiness to strike in Neftokhim [petrochemical industry], Vodnostroy [water management], and very many other locations in all branches of the national economy.

TU's Negotiate With Energy Committee on Strike

AU3011212190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] At a meeting of the joint strike committee of all trade unions in the power supply sector under the Energy Committee's leadership, the request of the trade unions for the resignation of the committee's management was confirmed. The proposal of the management that it would respond to this request sometime during December 1990 was accepted.

The joint strike committee appeals to all its sections to abstain from effective strike actions up to this period and to coordinate all their actions with the Joint Strike Committee alone. The information was submitted by the chairman of the United Strike Committee to BTA.

Students Decide To Continue National Strikes

AU0112195190 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)—Representatives of the strike committees in 70 colleges around the country decided to carry on the strike action because "no result whatsoever has been achieved on the problems raised."

The national students' strike committee recalls in a declaration that the principal demands are nationalization of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] property, seeking liability from the culprits for the national catastrophe, disclosure in parliament and on the campuses of the informers of the former State Security. The resignation of the government is seen only as a prerequisite to meet these demands.

The document specifies the guarantees which the students want in order to end their protest. If no such guarantees are provided, "the responsibility for the continued national students' strike and the ensuing build-up of social tension will rest entirely with the political forces in parliament, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor General's Office."

"The national students' strike committee calls on all colleagues and honest citizens to stage active protests in different forms until the desired results are achieved in the interests of the entire community," the declaration reads in conclusion.

The coordinating committee for joint protest actions of teachers and employees in the striking senior and junior colleges decided to continue its support for the national students' strike, which has now gone into its fourth week, until specific guarantees are provided.

Father Kills Son Following Lukanov Resignation

AU0212180790 Sofia BTA in English 1723 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—The elation of a 22-year-old man from Plovdiv over the collapse of Mr. Lukanov's socialist government cost him his life.

The man's forty-four-year old father stabbed him to death.

Reporting the incident, today's "DUMA" does not specify the political affiliations of those involved in the tragedy but says that the participants in the rally, which the opposition Union of Democratic Forces held in Plovdiv yesterday, observed a minute's silence in memory of the deceased.

[Paris AFP in English at 1024 GMT on 2 December carries a similar report also attributed to DUMA and adds that the names of the father and son were respectively "Nikola Georgiev and Georgi Nikolov."]

Socialist Daily Attacks Extent, Impact of Strike

AU3011145190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed commentary: "A Strike or a Rehearsal for a Coup?"]

[Text] How is a coup carried out? The radio and television stations are seized, and from then on the people are led towards brighter days.

Our radio and television outlets have been doing this now for over two days. The leaders of the action are ostensibly on token strike, but appeal to the people to display civil disobedience in a most effective way. The mobile radio cars are courting the center of "Podkrepa" with the same enthusiasm which they showed in serving the interests of the revival process. One after another, the announcements convince the listener that he is the last naive fool in the country who still continues to work.

It is easy to lead, but more difficult to induce people to follow you. During the first day of the strike 99 percent of the workers failed to strike, in spite of the fact that nine out of every 10 voices heard on the radio urged them to do just this. If we multiply nine by 99, we will obtain the coefficient of nonobjectivity.

Television, radio, and "Podkrepa" seized the lead, and then looked around and saw that no one was following them. However, propaganda continues to manufacture reality according to the best Goebbels formulas.

It has become fashionable to quote John Locke, according to whom the people are entitled to disobey when the state fails to honor the social contract. However, perhaps no one has consulted the original, in which Locke specifically states that only the majority of the people have such a right.

In the case of one percent, there can be no question of disobedience, but rather of a coup attempt, the start of a most flagrant dictatorship.

The farm workers are not striking, and most of the workers continue to perform their jobs. Private entrepreneurs are also not sitting with their arms folded. Most of the strikers come from the ranks of those people who eat others' bread and insist on making Bulgaria suffer even more, as if the present hardship is not enough.

Today 99 percent of the workers have been punished. Television punishes them with chamber music. Mere dozens of store assistants punish hundreds of thousands of customers. A few trucks block the road junctions, compelling tens of thousands to make their way on foot. A single hand pulls the switch, and a whole city is plunged into darkness.

This is effective indeed, except that this is not a strike, but the use of force. The members of parliament, trade union leaders, and public prosecutors change their opinions according to the way the wind blows. The laws have been turned into fables of La Fontaine.

It has already become clear what most people think. The people continue to work. It is time for us to hear what the president thinks about all this.

Christian Parties Appeal for Unity During Crisis

AU3011145490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Nov 90 p 3

[Text] The editors of DUMA have received a declaration of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center) and the Christian Radical Party. In this document, the leaderships of the two parties address an appeal to the nation for peace at a time of violence, shortages, and deep moral and social crisis. The declaration states that this peace is essential for each one of us and for the entire nation, at a time when we must unite under the sign of the cross and the banner of religious tolerance, when we are at the bottom of the economic crisis, and when there is no one to come to our aid!

"Together with our call for peace we also appeal to the leaderships of the so-called main political forces to overcome the parliamentary crisis, because only in the spirit of mutual understanding and by common efforts can a last attempt be made to save Bulgaria, to prevent it from being plunged into yet another fratricidal war, which may be the last one for all of us," the declaration states in conclusion.

SDS' Beron Stresses Need for Party Compromise

AU2911214490 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Telephone interview with Petur Beron, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, by Csaba Szerdahelyi in Sofia; date not given: "Beron Commutes Between Parliament and SDS"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The situation in Bulgaria is slowly becoming uncontrollable, and the Balkan country is heading for complete anarchy, unless rivaling forces are prepared to compromise in the country's interest. Mass movements succeed one another in Sofia; in a series of large-scale factories, workers are politicizing rather than producing and parliamentary skirmishes are slowly becoming tragicomical.

Part of the population in Sofia even spent the weekend in the streets, and pro-government and anti-cabinet demonstrations continued, albeit with a little less vehemence on Sunday than on Saturday, 24 November. It is a well-known fact that the Lukanov government stayed in place as a result of the parliamentary election organized on Friday, 23 November, following the vote of no confidence submitted by the opposition. After the vote, Petur Beron declared that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] would boycott activities in the National Assembly. Therefore, we were surprised to reach Mr. Beron by telephone in the office of the SDS's parliamentary faction, rather than in the SDS headquarters.

[Szerdahelyi] Has your point of view changed over the last two days?

[Beron] So far, we are sticking to our Friday night decision, but that does not mean that our weekdays are spent in idleness. We are also pursuing constant observation and coordination activity, and we do not exclude the possibility of reaching a sensible compromise with the communists.

[Szerdahelyi] How do you feel about your no-confidence motion being defeated?

[Beron] I do not think that the result of the vote represented complete failure or defeat. Naturally, first of all, we expressed our disappointment, but we did not choose to boycott parliamentary activities out of spite.

[Szerdahelyi] Do you not think that the Bulgarian Socialist Party raised its prestige, once again, following its victory in the spring elections?

[Beron] We have long since stopped analyzing the electoral victory of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, so I do not wish to repeat our thoughts at the time. However, we are becoming increasingly convinced that there has been no change of regime in Bulgaria, and the communists did not change with their new name. Furthermore, the period since the spring clearly proves that the Bulgarian Socialist Party cannot help the country; it simply does not have a program that can handle our economic and political crisis.

[Szerdahelyi] Does the SDS have such a program?

[Beron] Naturally, we do not just have concepts, but exact plans as well. For tactical reasons, we do not wish to make a fuss about these plans, because we are sure that, in a coalition, we would be forced into the background again. We cannot imagine a coalition, anyway.

[Szerdahelyi] I am sorry, but while the political parties are bickering, the country is completely breaking down....

[Beron] That is why the government should resign!

[Szerdahelyi] According to my information, the SDS is not urging new elections, after all.

[Beron] We do not want new elections because people are fed up with politics at the moment. It would be suicidal to draw these embittered people into a new election campaign.

[Szerdahelyi] Disregarding the pro-government demonstrators, not everyone is so embittered. Do you feel that your own ranks are strong?

[Beron] I have never denied that there are people whom the old style fits perfectly, if only from the point of view of convenience and power. However, I am convinced that the majority would vote for real change. I stress again, real change.

[Szerdahelyi] The national minority issue is on the agenda again in Bulgaria. What is the SDS's standpoint on this issue?

[Beron] Sweeping the Turkish issue under the carpet was a serious historical mistake. There is a great deal to be done to heal old wounds, and the SDS is prepared to be active in this area.

[Szerdahelyi] The new trade union confederation "Podkrepa" called for a general strike on the morning of Monday 26 November. What is the situation like in Sofia?

[Beron] The initiative lacks any serious foundation, and extremist elements could use this initiative in a very dangerous way. The SDS refuses to join such an anarchic action based on mass hysteria. It is not our intention to destroy this country.

[Szerdahelyi] Mr. Beron, you could become prime minister one day. Have you ever thought of that?

[Beron] It would be too early to talk about this now. Currently it is not our most important task.

Agrarians Denounce Strikes as Form of Protest

AU2911154690 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Statement of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Permanent Board issued in Sofia on 26 November]

[Text] The minimal vote of confidence that Andrey Lukanov's Socialist government recently obtained in parliament is not shared by the overwhelming majority of our country's population, which makes an improvement of the cabinet's prestige rather uncertain. Therefore, the BZNS leadership considers it necessary once again recall its idea, launched at the beginning of 1990, requiring a widely representative government based on national consensus which would be a true government of national salvation under the circumstances of dramatic developments Bulgaria is living through.

In this respect we declare that regardless of how justified the criticism and claims toward the present government might be, we are against the practice of combining political issues with trade union interests and we do not agree with extreme methods, such as the organization of a general strike at a crucial moment for our country when the peaceful transition of our state to democracy is at stake. Such a step can only be disastrous for Bulgaria and, therefore, we are against the complete obstruction of the country's economy which might render the entire country completely ungovernable.

Nevertheless, we also resolutely disagree with the appeal of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and its petition for a vote of no-confidence in the Grand National Assembly. We are convinced that parliament should not be held responsible for the government's inaction and regardless of the shortcomings in

its work, it is nevertheless the legitimately elected supreme organ of state power in Bulgaria whose work should not be subject to pressure by any force whatsoever. The provocation of a parliamentary crisis at this moment is likely to conduct the quest for an outcome from the grave situation of crisis which is affecting our country into an incorrect and undesirable direction.

BSP Leaders' Willingness To Change Emphasized

AU0312120690 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 30 Nov/1 Dec 90 p 1

[Vasil Gadzhanov article: "Will Change Cause Change?"]

[Text] What Andrey Lukanov wanted—the establishment of a government of national confidence and parliamentary consensus—has, in general terms, materialized. It does not matter what we call the new government—a program-based government, or something close to it....

The fact that the country has lost much valuable time is another issue. The time was wasted in the corridors of our Bulgarian democracy, and there was no one to say: Enough! There was no unity of prudence and compromise. The previous prime minister naively hoped that a coalition government led by a specialist and relying on the support of the parliament and the political forces could be established. This was an illusion in which even people who have nothing to do with politics did not believe.

Awaiting the emergence of consensus, the government prepared new changes and laws, but in practice it did not undertake anything. The elected people's representatives also waited in the parliament. The people also waited.... This was a long period of waiting, during which certain circles did not show goodwill and did not allow people to work and act properly and efficiently in the Grand National Assembly and the country. In this context we can say that Andrey Lukanov's illusions appeared to be a soap bubble, which burst when it was assessed that it must burst. It was not the strike but the sit-in that toppled the government. This is the real conclusion, if one analyses things without prejudice and without twisting the facts. It is an alarming conclusion. In the same inexcusable manner tomorrow several thousands of young people could occupy Sofia's crossroads with trucks and tents, and topple the next government, even if it is a government of national responsibility, formed with the participation of representatives of the separate political forces. Such an act would follow the simple logic of the organizers of "velvet revolutions," namely, that the Socialists must be completely removed. Afterward, other forces could use occupation tactics and remove the next government. Will this again be a democratic act?

Some people from the higher echelon of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], burdened by the past, had a concealed but especially important task: to survive as long as possible. Thus, with their presence at the top of the BSP and its parliamentary faction they opened up the entire Socialist Party to attacks and practically prevented the establishment of a leftist center and a left lead by people unburdened by the remnants of the past. It is clear to all that the burden of the past will continue to be the demarcation line that will separate many BSP figures from tens and hundreds of thousands of honest members and supporters. However, there was not even one person who was able to say: "As a leading BSP figure I also am guilty. I withdraw...." Nobody said this. This was and still is a necessary act, which must be carried out in the name of the party, which is changing itself and must change even more in the name of its future as a modern leftist party, capable of participating in a leftist center, where it could be accepted with confidence and hope.

The parliament resumed its sessions. Andrey Lukanov's resignation was adopted. A new government will be formed. We expect it to begin immediately to implement its real functions, as we expect parliament finally to justify the great hopes of the Bulgarian nation.

Our country can overcome the deep economic, social, and moral crisis only through a constructive dialogue, prudent decisions and actions, strenuous work, and political calm.

Let us remember, the world must finally look at us with friendship and confidence.

Independent Trade Unions Warn of Hyperinflation

AU2911125590 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 20 Nov 90 p 4

[Text] The editorial board of DEMOKRATSIYA has received a statement of the position of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, signed by Professor Krustyu Petkov, which stresses that the new prices published in the press do not give a true picture of the expected real rise in living costs. The compensation payments are related to a limited list of goods and services, and it is impossible to apply the indexation in relation to the amount of the increase in prices. The independent trade unions, the statement later continues, insisted on a system of indexation at a time when the government assured us that the increase in prices until year's end would not exceed 35 percent. Now, when preparations are being made for a several-fold increase in prices, the agreement on indexation for which we fought becomes completely useless. The price shock which is envisaged is a sure way toward hyperinflation, since it opens the door to a subsequent "liberalized" increase in living costs, and there is no way to hold back wages, given such a progressive depreciation of incomes and savings, which are already paltry.

It is recalled that the government signed a general agreement with the trade unions and employers, at least

half of the provisions of which have remained unfulfilled. Recently the government made an attempt, reprehensible in its intention and botched in its execution, to conceal from the public its intention to implement a true price-increasing assault under cover of the draft law on the budget for the period until the end of 1990.

At the same time, the confederation also proposes certain measures which in its view are consistent with economic logic.

The confederation continues to consider that, given the present correlation of the political forces in parliament and in reality, the most suitable alternative is a government of national salvation dominated by representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces. If for any reason this proves unfeasible, further chaos and tension can only be prevented by the Grand National Assembly dissolving itself and the president appointing a caretaker government.

Accusations Against President's Spokesman Denied

AU3011171790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Petyo Petkov report from Bucharest]

[Text] In connection with certain accusations launched by a deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] against Valentin Stoyanov, the present spokesman of the President's Office, Petyo Petkov, BTA correspondent in Bucharest announces the following:

I quote: I consider the accusations against Valentin Stoyanov claiming that, as a television reporter, he misled the Bulgarian public about the December 1989 events in Romania as totally unjustified. In evaluating the events, the reports and commentaries of Bulgarian Television did not differ from those of the major world news agencies, such as AFP, TASS, AP, ANSA, and others. This can be checked.

Another question is that the aforementioned news agencies and all Bulgarian journalists, without any exception, who worked in the Romanian capital in those exciting days, were supplied by official Romanian sources and used their information which subsequently turned out to be untrue, such as the facts about the exact number of people killed and injured, about poisoned water sources, about hospitals destroyed by explosion, and other similar news. (?Misinformation) on the situation in Timisiora was supplied by Budapest and Belgrade. We can assert today that Ceausescu's overthrow was preceded and followed by several false reports based on unreliable sources. These announcements were actively disseminated by Romanian Radio and Television whose programs were excitedly followed by all people in Bulgaria. If even today a dense fog surrounds the secrets about the Romanian Revolution, one thing is certain: In those few days when more than 500 people perished in the streets of Bucharest, the Bulgarian Television crew behaved with dignity and courage. This fact is confirmed by the high evaluation of its work by the Romanian viewers themselves.

Old Names of Varna Streets, Nearby Town Restored

AU0212181090 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—The central squares and boulevards in the city of Varna have had their old names restores. The Varnenska Komuna Square is again the Mitropolit Simeon Square and the Deveti Septemvri Square has become Nezavisimost (Independence).

The boulevard which leads to the large seaside resort of Golden Sands will be called again Knyaz Boris I instead of Lenin, and another boulevard leading downtown will bear the name of Vladislav Varnenchik instead of Karl Marx. The Dimitur Blagoev and the Georgi Dimitrov Boulevards have also had their previous names restored, along with the waterfront Chervenoarmeyski (Red Army) Boulevard.

After a referendum, the town of Georgi Traykov, 50 km to the south of Varna, today reverted to its old name of Dolni Chiflik.

Defector Kostov on Former Intelligence Work

AU3011153490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Nov 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Vladimir Kostov, Radio Free Europe commentator and former major in the Bulgarian State Security Service, by Plamen Enchev in Sofia; date not given: "I Value High Professional Efforts"]

[Excerpts] "I have never considered myself to be a traitor and my conscience is clear," stated Vladimir Kostov, Radio Free Europe commentator and formerly a State Security major, in an interview given to DUMA.

Mr. Kostov talked to me for about 40 minutes in the foyer of the Sheraton Hotel in Sofia, where he has been staying with his wife Nataliya during his week-long private visit to Bulgaria. He expressed his satisfaction with "the week of his return to Bulgaria," and said that he had held numerous meetings with citizens and politicians, including the president, vice president, and prime minister. [passage omitted]

[Enchev] Mr. Kostov, did you carry out any assignments as a State Security officer on Bulgarian territory?

[Kostov] No, never. I have never worked for what is called, if I remember correctly, the Second Department. From the very beginning of my recruitment into State Security I worked with foreign political intelligence. Insomuch as I spied on, or, to use the professional term, cultivated anyone, the persons concerned were always foreigners with whom I came into contact as a foreign political journalist. I do not know what my attitude

would have been if they had asked me to work for the Second Department, but I can only say that I did what I was asked to do. For better or worse, I have never had any assignments in Bulgaria in relation to Bulgarian citizens.

[Enchev] Have you met any of your former superiors or colleagues in State Security in Bulgaria at present?

[Kostov] I have not gone out of my way to seek such a meeting, but this does not mean that I would not meet them. Quite the contrary, I would be glad to do so. Frankly speaking, I do not know what has become of them.

[Enchev] Who was your immediate superior in the security services?

[Kostov] I have given almost all the names in my book "The Bulgarian Umbrella." I came under General Kyosev, who was the chief of the First Department. Colonel Dyakov had most to do in connection with my professional training, and I also worked with other people in connection with individual trips. When I carried out tasks as a correspondent in France, my immediate chief was Dimo Stankov, the State Security officer in residence, who was a counselor at the embassy.

[Enchev] What happened to him when you stayed in France; was he recalled?

[Kostov] As far as I know, he stayed on for some time in Paris. I assume that I did not cause him any trouble. It is possible that the French already suspected that he was the officer in resident. After I stayed in France, it is clear that they were informed that he was the officer in residence. Neither then, nor later have I been guided by the fact that my acts might cause trouble for any person. My acts were motivated by political considerations, which in my view are more important than my "relations with any individual. [no closing quotation mark as published]

[Enchev] Are you aware that on 19 November a meeting of "survivors who had suffered at the hands of State Security Major Vladimir Kostov" was arranged in front of the People's Palace of Culture?

[Kostov] No, I have not heard about this. However, I have been asked whether I am prepared to apologize to innocent people who have suffered because of my acts. I do not think I have to apologize to anyone. [passage omitted]

[Enchev] Do you believe in the existence of "the Bulgarian connection" in the attempt on the pope's life, in the Georgi Markov case, and in the narcotics and arms trade?

[Kostov] I do in fact believe this is true, but the issue is not simply one of belief. My wife Nataliya and I had a long discussion with Mr. Katsamunski, chief of the Main Investigation Department. He assured me of his readiness to establish the truth about these questions at any price, however costly revealing the truth may be to the personal interests of individuals. He assured me that the progress of the investigations into Markov's murder and the assassination attempt on the pope would be fully announced to the public. Thus, we will have some work to complete together with him. On these questions one must not rely on one's beliefs, but one must try, starting at the very beginning, to follow the path, make a detailed analysis, and, as far as is humanly possible, reach the truth. [passage omitted]

New Supreme Court Chairman Lozanchev Interviewed

AU2711161890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Nov 90 p 1

[Interview with Supreme Court Chairman Dimitur Lozanchev by Evgeni Gavrilov; place and date not given: "The Supreme Court Provides Guarantees for Legality in the Country"; first paragraph is DUMA introduction]

[Excerpts] The Grand National Assembly has elected Dimitur Lozanchev as chairman of the Supreme Court. He was born in 1927 in Sofia. He worked as a lawyer, as a judge, and then as a prosecutor. Since May of this year he has served as chief of the Civil Law Department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office. He is not a member of any political party.

[Gavrilov] In a normal state it is customary for the Supreme Court to be associated with guarantees for legality. In the present situation, is it prepared to provide such guarantees?

[Lozanchev] In a state based on the rule of law, a number of institutions, not only the Supreme Court, are associated with guarantees for legality. Insomuch as it concerns the work of the Supreme Court, I believe that the Supreme Court is ready to do this. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] Do you hold any views about the changes that should be made in the Supreme Court?

[Lozanchev] I do not think that changes should be made as an end in themselves. This is even more true for a court that is connected with a certain traditionalism. As far as certain necessary changes are concerned, these should be widely discussed throughout the leadership of the Supreme Court. In general terms, the changes should be aimed a raising the court's authority by consolidating its independence and strengthening professionalism in its work.

[Gavrilov] Are attempts still being made to interfere in the Supreme Court's work?

[Lozanchev] I have only recently taken up my new post. During my period in office, no attempts have been made to interfere in the court's work through me.

[Gavrilov] At the present time, the dissatisfaction with the work of the judicial organs that has accumulated over

many years seems to be coming to the forefront. In your view, are there any grounds for this dissatisfaction?

[Lozanchev] Certain grounds do exist, but I think that they are often exaggerated for subjective reasons. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] What do you think about the Bulgarian's understanding of the law?

[Lozanchev] It is not at a very high level. It is typical that the Bulgarian finds it hard to accept a court verdict that conforms to the law but does not correspond to his own personal beliefs and interests.

[Gavrilov] How old is the youngest Supreme Court judge? What are the reasons for the exodus from the bench?

[Lozanchev] The youngest judges are about 40 years old. The exodus from the profession of judge is due to several reasons. For many years the importance of the profession was debased. It was treated not as an organ of the third authority, but as an ordinary organ of state, whose purpose was to fulfill "legal services." The judges lacked security because of their short terms of office. In addition, their remuneration does not correspond to their onerous duties as judges. [passage omitted]

Ruse Socialists Call for January BSP Congress

AU0112212090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Today the Ruse Municipal Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held an expanded plenum which approved the political accord reached on forming a national government for a peaceful transition. Having analyzed the present sociopolitical situation in the country and the strategy and tactics of the BSP from the elections until the present, the Ruse municipal BSP Council adopted a viewpoint opposing the practice of one-person decisions and supporting the need for a collective style of leadership in the BSP.

In view of all this, the Ruse Socialists put forward a proposal to the Supreme Party Council to convene a 40th extraordinary BSP congress in January next year, and also suggested opening a petition among party members throughout the country in support of this proposal.

National Monarchist Movement Conference Opens

AU0212144790 Sofia BTA in English 2110 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Dec (BTA)—Representatives of the monarchist parties, unions, movements, societies and clubs from all over the country took part in the First National Conference for Universal Monarchist Unity of Action, which was held today under the motto "Tsar Simeon II in Bulgaria."

The idea of this forum, the first of its kind in this country, is to look for ways and means to coordinate the activity for the restoration of the monarchy in Bulgaria. The beginning was set of a nationwide movement for the restoration of the monarchy.

Continuing Turkish Nationalist Threat Claimed

AU2811125390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Nov 90 p 4

[Docent Stayko Trifonov article: "Why the Bulgarians in Kurdzhali Region Seek Protection in Greece"]

[Excerpts] We are witnessing a monstrous fact. Thousands of Bulgarian families want to leave their native land, not for economic reasons (we have already seen enough instances of that), but for political reasons. Although this act of theirs may contain some elements of ostentatious protest, this unprecedented fact is so important that it warrants our serious consideration. It is not fitting for the Bulgarian parliament and the political forces to close their eyes and behave as if they were Olympian deities. Serious reasons exist which lie in the depths of the swelling volcano, matters to which no one has paid any attention for a long time.

A folk psychology and a historical memory do exist among the people; they have accumulated in the people's consciousness over decades, sometimes centuries. What do we know about the Bulgarians in Kurdzhali region? With few exceptions, they are all refugees or descendants of refugees from Macedonia, Asia Minor, and most of all from western Thrace. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian state welcomed the refugees and settled them near the border, to guard Bulgaria. These tough Bulgarians, hardened in the flames of uprisings and wars, became the loyal guards of their native land. Until recently, this inner feeling was the chief thing which ruled their lives. Now, they feel themselves abandoned by everyone.

The Bulgarians in Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, Razgrad, Shumen, and other former okrugs live among their compatriots who possess a Turkish ethic consciousness. During the so-called revival process (1984-89), the despots, state organs and institutions, and the apparatus of repression increased their power. However, the consequences of the collapse of this process bore heavily on the ordinary working people. During the period of the mass "excursions" in the summer of 1989, they woke up to find the tobacco fields abandoned, and toiled without rest or holidays for months on end in order to save Bulgaria from economic ruin. They accepted with dignity and sympathy the taunts coming from the departing caravans. Let us remember—this did indeed happen.

The Bulgarians in the aforementioned districts have a special, heightened sensitivity toward the nationality issue. Before their very eyes, the Turkish nationalist propaganda developed its work for decades. They watched how the

assimilation and Turkification of Bulgarian Muslims, gypsies, and Tartars made quiet, but steady and consistent progress, not stopping even now. No one knows better than the Bulgarians in Kurdzhali region and northeastern Bulgaria how, when, and upon what basis the Rights and Freedoms Movement was formed, developed, and functions (its former name when it was an illegal underground movement was the Turkish National Liberation Movement in Bulgaria). They looked with outrage upon those political forces who placed their own party interests above national and state interests. Carried away in the heat of the election campaign, the new Bulgarian politicians permitted the registration and legalization of a political force constructed on an ethnic, religious, and anticonstitutional foundation. The Bulgarians have good reason to fear the movement's increasing activity, and are worried by the increasing incidence of provocative behavior by the population with a Turkish ethnic consciousness. The new Bulgarian Names Law, which was adopted under pressure, stands in contradiction to the National Assembly declaration of 16 January 1990. The Bulgarian tradition has been abandoned, and an opportunity has been provided for the introduction of an alien system of names. This increases the sense of isolation of a section of the Bulgarian citizens and deepens the division of our people.

The problems raised are not merely formal ones. They logically raise the question of the native land to which Bulgarian citizens with a Turkish ethic consciousness belong, the question of their fatherland.

The traditional policy of Turkey gives rise to serious fears among Bulgarians, especially in Kurdzhali region. Recurrences of imperialist thinking have still not been overcome. He are hardly entitled to disregard certain lasting elements in Turkish policy in relation to both the Muslims in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian state. No one should oppose the establishment of normal political and economic relations. However, delusions and naivete in politics can expose our people to new troubles and sufferings. Nor should the ideas about turning southern Bulgaria into an open trade zone be accepted unequivocally. The influx of Turkish capital and the creation of mixed enterprises in the present economic, social, ethnic, and international situation of the Bulgarian society and state may have easily foreseeable consequences. The fears that Bulgaria will remove its last mechanisms of protection should not be disregarded.

Ethnic Turk League Restored; Attacks Dogan

AU3011141490 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Democratic League for the Protection of Human Rights was restored in the city of Varna. The organisation was established on November 13, 1988, by a group of ethnic Turks sent into internal exile to the area of Vratsa during the 1984-1985 forced assimilation campaign. The purpose of the organisation was to struggle for the restoration and protection of the civil rights and the political freedoms of the Turkish population in Bulgaria.

The restored league issued a declaration accusing Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, of claiming undue credit for the peaceful protest actions in May and June 1989 which were [words indistinct], after which the totalitarian regime launched a wave of repressions. That was the beginning of the ethnic Turks' mass exodus to Turkey.

The members of the league categorically distance themselves from Mr. Ahmed Dogan and some members of his team. They claim that "with all his activity so far he drifts away from the requirements and the interests of the Turkish ethnic group."

Mr. Mustafa Yumer, one of the signers of the declaration, sees a way out of the situation in the restoration of the league and its affiliation to the Union of Democratic Forces. The league favours a single and indivisible Bulgaria and condemns the extreme nationalists' separatist actions in some parts of the country.

Government Backs UN Resolution on Iraq

AU3011200090 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Republic of Bulgaria hails the ever more active participation of the United Nations and, first of all, of the United Nations Security Council in the settlement of emerging crisis and in securing international peace and security, it is said in the declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made in connection with resolution No. 678 of the United Nations Security Council. Guided by her awareness that the strict implementation of the Security Council resolutions is of key importance for the successful functioning of the system for maintaining international peace and security laid down in the Statute of the United Nations, Bulgaria is strictly observing the comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq.

We unconditionally support the efforts of the Security Council to find a solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf and consider that it is necessary to make use of all possibilities for its political settlement. We hope that the leadership of Iraq will show political wisdom and will take into account both the basic standards and principles of International Law and the opinion clearly expressed by the international public and will take the necessary action to abide by Security Council resolutions Nos. 660, 662, 664 and 678 within the time limit set therein.

If diplomatic efforts do not lead to the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and to the restoration of the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty, Bulgaria will back up, based on the Security Council resolutions, all efforts aimed at the achievement of this purpose. We will continue, as it has been the case

up to now, to fulfil all our obligations ensuing from the United Nations Statute and the Security Council resolutions, it is said in the declaration.

International Ecologists End Inspections in Ruse

AU0112153190 Sofia BTA in English 2204 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Ruse, 30 Nov (BTA)—Today the two specialists, appointed by UNEP [United Nations Environmental Program] to find out what the ecological situation in the Ruse-Giurgiu region is, completed their work. In two days Mr. Robert Boldt, a Canadian chemical engineer, and Dr. Cornelius van der Hijden, a toxicologist from the Netherlands, visited the industrial enterprises in Ruse which are considered sources of pollution.

Earlier this week the two experts visited Giurgiu. They will present their report by the end of the year.

The causes for the air pollution in Ruse are complex. Environment should not be cleaned at the expense of imposing restrictions on industry, but by improving technology and the organization of management, the experts told journalists. In reply to the question if the Bulgarians have grounds to make claims on the Romanian side, the Dutch specialist said that he would not give a direct answer and pointed out that in Holland, as it is in many other countries, people prefer to see the mistakes made by the others rather than their own mistakes.

Petrov Leads Military Delegation Visit to Ankara

AU3011204990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] A delegation of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff, headed by Lieutenant General Lyuben Petrov, first deputy chief of the General Staff paid a visit to Turkey. This was the first official visit of a Bulgarian General Staff delegation to Turkey in the history of Bulgarian-Turkish relations.

Our delegation had the opportunity to visit several units of the Turkish Armed Forces.

During the talks between the delegations of the Bulgarian and Turkish general staffs a wide range of questions related to common interests were discussed. General Lyuben Petrov and the military officials accompanying him were received by Army General Necip Torumtay, chief of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff.

Agreement Said Possible, Desired

AU0112154190 Sofia BTA in English 2206 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Apostol Saruivanov report]

[Excerpts] Ankara, 30 Nov (BTA)—A delegation of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army headed by Lieutenant General Lyuben Petrov, deputy chief of the General Staff, was on an official visit to Turkey. [passage omitted]

During the talks it was established that the two delegations share similar positions on the key problems and that agreement could be reached on all problems. The Turkish side hailed the idea of the Bulgarian delegation for a meeting of the chiefs of the general staffs of the Balkan countries' armed forces the soonest possible.

Italy's De Michelis on Chances for EC Aid

AU3011221390 Sofia BTA in English 2017 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Rome, 30 Nov (BTA)—The European Community has never set conditions political, economic or any other conditions on Bulgaria for giving her economic aid, Mr. Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, told the BTA correspondent.

The Italian foreign minister, who chairs the Council of Ministers of the European Community in the present six-month period, pointed out that now the EC was discussing the the possibilities of giving aid to the East European countries and its respective amount. The EC is expected to make its decision very soon.

Mr. De Michelis underlined that the formation of a strong government in Bulgaria could influence positively the EC in determining the amount of aid which would help the country overcome the crisis. According to him Mr. Lukanov's cabinet had an insufficiently clear economic program and it did not manage to secure broad support for it. If Bulgaria wants to increase her international prestige, she needs a cabinet formed on a broad coalition basis and supported by the population which would be able to secure internal stability, security and conditions ensuring the normal functioning of the state institutions and the country's economy.

1990 Aid Package Said Finalized

AU0112153990 Sofia BTA in English 2137 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—At the meeting Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, had with Mr. Pablo Benavides, director at Directorate General I of the Commission of the European Communities, Bulgaria applied again for economic and financial aid.

Today the joint Bulgarian-EC Committee for Trade and Economic Cooperation held its first session here.

Mr. Benavides was familiarized with the political and economic changes in the country. The possibilities to open negotiations aimed at concluding an agreement on Bulgaria's joining the EC (the so-called European Agreement) were discussed. The two delegations reached an agreement on precipitating [as received] the 1990 aid of 25 million ECU from the EC budget and to accelerate the mapping out of the 1991 priority sectors of assistance.

Zhivkov Role in 1968 Invasion of CSSR Viewed

AU0212180990 Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—The peculiar metamorphosis of the views of the ousted Bulgarian dictator Todor Zhivkov, now under house arrest pending trial, is discussed in today's "DUMA" by Mr. Dragomir Draganov, a historian who has gained popularity as a BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] reformer. The feature is occasioned by the interview which the former irreplaceable number one gave recently to "THE TIMES" of London, the "NEW YORK TIMES" and the Czechoslovak News Agency CTK. In it he mentioned, among other things, the Warsaw Treaty invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Zhivkov is trying to present himself in a new light. He says that the invasion of Czechoslovakia is totally unjustifiable. The involvement of Bulgarian troops in the aggression was necessary to avoid soviet economic sanctions against Bulgaria, he claims.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov quotes a still classified transcript of the July 1973 Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The international activity of the Communist Party and of the state was discussed at that meeting which has gained notoriety as the "Second Plenum" on Bulgaria's incorporation into the USSR.

The then minister of foreign affairs Mr. Petur Mladenov (who was Bulgaria's chief diplomat for nearly two decades but was brought down from the Presidency in July 1990) singled out two major factors of Bulgaria's international successes: the "April" 1956 general policy line and the "immediate and personal participation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the planning and implementation of all strategic and tactical moves."

Mr. Mladenov told that plenum that the Czechoslovak question did no longer exist but had gone down into history. "It is to the credit of our party that during the Czechoslovak events, when the leaders of the fraternal parties discussed the situation in Czechoslovakia, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, proceeding from an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis, was the first to define the situation as an open counterrevolution and to suggest the measures which all of us now assess as the only possible and correct ones," Mr. Petur Mladenov said seventeen years ago.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov points out that the breathtaking pace of events on November 10, 1989, when Zhivkov was deposed, prevented the former dictator and his closest aide and accomplice Milko Balev from covering up all the tracks.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov mentions Balev's attempts to destroy "a unique correspondence between Zhivkov and Khrushchev".

Greece's Mitsotakis Scheduled Visit Questionable

AU0112210990 Sofia BTA in English 2059 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Athens, 1 Dec (BTA)—It is hardly likely that Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, the prime minister of Greece, will visit Bulgaria next week as originally agreed by the two countries.

The Greek Government spokesman Mr. Viron Polidhoras made the following statement today: "After the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government and with the ongoing consultations on the formation of a new cabinet, it is doubtful whether the Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis will pay the official visit to Bulgaria, planned for December 6 and 7."

The spokesman did not specify whether the visit has been postponed or cancelled.

World Bank Official Forecasts Granting Loans

AU0112195290 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (BTA)—The resignation of the Socialist government headed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov will probably open the way to help Bulgaria by loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) which could amount to 200-300 million dollars a year.

A World Bank official in Beijing told Western businessmen that the bank had been reluctant to take this step so far because "with the exception of Zhivkov's ouster, nothing had changed in Bulgaria and the same party had stayed in power." The stabilization of the democratic reforms in Bulgaria would encourage the bank to make loans to the said amount on soft terms, for instance, suspension of repayment for the first three years, the official was quoted as saying.

Federal Government Supports Dlouhy Remarks on Oil

LD3011213590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] The Federal Government wound up today's session with a brief discussion of the atmosphere created by the reaction by certain Slovak politicians to the comments by Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy on the results of the talks in Zidlochovice. It reached the conclusion that members of the government are undoubtedly politicians and therefore they had not only the right, but also the duty to put forward not only professional but also openly political arguments in support of their convictions.

The Federal Government agrees with and supports the views of Minister Vladimir Dlouhy on retaining the system of oil and gas pipeline networks.

Power, Fuel Prices To Increase 1 December

LD3011232190 Prague CTK in English 2213 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 30 Nov (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Government today approved an increase in wholesale prices of fuel, electricity and heat, effective December 1.

Wholesale energy prices are to increase, on the average, as follows: Coal and coke will rise between 44 and 50 percent, heat 74 per cent, electricity 53 per cent, and natural and manufactured gas 65 per cent.

The Federal Government also requested the ministers of finance and control to submit to the government by December 15 recommendations for measures so that legislation on the expropriation of the property of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Socialist Union of Youth may be implemented as of January 1, 1991.

Prime Minister Calfa Discusses Local Elections

AU2911185590 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Nov 90 p 1

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Karel Hvizdala; place and date not given: "Only a Few People Knew the Candidates"]

[Text] [Hvizdala] Mr. Prime Minister, because of the concern that the election law not be violated, you were prohibited from holding a meeting in Presov on Friday [23 November]. No violation of the law was involved, yet the meticulousness of the National Committee is quite understandable.

[Calfa] It was a misunderstanding. The National Committee only asked in Bratislava whether my performance could be construed as a violation of the law. However, I came there as a prime minister and as a deputy for the East Slovakia region—it is one of the places where I received the highest number of votes. I came there with Federal Assembly deputies, Public Against Violence movement representatives, and Christian Democratic Movement representatives. This means that it definitely was not an action of a single party. Before a reply came from Bratislava, however, the chairman of the local National Committee, who was not running in the elections, decided to cancel the meeting. The entire matter caused embarrassment and one can only ask whether the concern [about violating the law] was the only reason my meeting with citizens was recalled. I will make it up to my voters in December. I have promised them.

[Hvizdala] You are a representative of the Public Against Violence movement which, according to first indications, will not play a significant role in Slovak communities and cities. Do you perceive this as a defeat?

[Calfa] Not at all. The Public Against Violence movement runs in elections with the belief that people in communities and cities should vote for the best people, regardless of their party affiliation. The results correspond to what we have expected. I would like to add, that there were places in Slovakia where not a single candidate could be presented. The law on elections forgot to deal with the fact that there are localities with less than 50 permanent residents. This situation remains to be solved.

[Hvizdala] Do you believe that new representatives in the local administration of communities and cities will hurt the old mafia in any significant way?

[Calfa] I think so, but it is not only the elections that are expected to hurt the old mafia. There is small privatization going on, along with the replacement of police commanders, prosecutors, judges, and directors. Only such a complex intervention can hurt something.

[Hvizdala] What do you have to say about the 75-percent participation in the elections?

[Calfa] I expected it. The previous elections were the first free elections and the candidates were well known personalities. Candidates in the local elections, in cities in particular, were hardly known to anyone. I received the ballot just before the elections and did not even know where I was supposed to go to cast my vote. I went to the school where I had cast my ballot previously and was lucky to find the right place. I am of the opinion that we did not pay enough attention to these elections. One more thing: Experience in Hungary and Poland shows that the participation in elections is constantly dropping.

Sladek Getting Ready for New Elections

AU2911200990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The Extraordinary Elections Will Be Held in Spring 1991"]

[Text] Prague—The Association for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party is getting ready for the extraordinary parliamentary elections which, according to information provided by Party Chairman Miroslav

Sladek, will be held in the first six months of next year. At yesterday's meeting he said that despite the slander campaign, his party will win eight to 10 percent of votes in these elections.

The objective of the next elections will be, according to Dr. Sladek, the removal of communists from their leading positions. The extraordinary elections will be held because his party will make an agreement with other parties on organizing a week-long strike. The only democratic form of resistance is civil disobedience. The deterioration of social securities, growing unemployment, and other things will also help his cause.

Republicans are not striving to capture all the power; they will share the power with others. They will push for lower wages for deputies. As far as his political platform is concerned, Mr. Sladek told us that the Republican Party is interested in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, in favor of an undivided Czechoslovakia, and against paying compensation to Sudeten Germans. As compared to parliamentary elections, Republicans recorded a 100-percent increase of votes in the local elections. The Republican Party has some 8,000 members, yet more people apply for membership.

Klaus on Finance, Orientation of CSFR Economy

AU2911144290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 8

[Interview with CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Petr Stepanek in Geneva on 23 November: A Swiss Look Around; If to Europe, Then the Whole Europe"—first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] The visit to the Swiss Confederation underscored the relations developing for a number of months. The possibilities for economic contacts are much greater than they used to be. The signing of the agreement on 5 October on mutual support and protection of investments also contributed to this development. Currently, a group of Swiss experts from the Swiss Finance Ministry is negotiating at the ministry in Prague an agreement preventing double taxation. It should be signed in February. There is nothing now that should prevent Swiss investments. Hence, we progress relentlessly and consistently," V. Klaus, CSFR minister of finance, stated in an interview granted to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. We asked him several questions in Switzerland where he was accompanying the president.

[Stepanek] From the point of view of the economic activities, what do you consider to be the greatest contribution of the trip to Bern, Zurich, and Geneva?

[Klaus] As a liberal economist, I consider the talks with the private institutions to be the most important ones, then come the national, and eventually the supernational ones. In this sense, the talks with the banking world were decisive. Cooperation with the national and the supernational institutions develops on a long-term basis—consultative actions, expert training, exchange of information, organization of seminars, etc. Although they are necessary for our long-term development, so that as many people as possible will learn to belong to Europe and the world and be able to function there, it is not our immediate short-term concern. At present, our concern is elsewhere. It is linked with our dive into the cold water. For that, we need many more contacts with trade, economic, and banking institutions. We discussed what, for us is the most important issue at this time, i.e., the bridging loans.

[Stepanek] What amount was discussed; has an actual amount been mentioned?

[Klaus] Numbers were not important at this meeting. Of course, we know what the amount of losses resulting from stoppages in the foreign trade with the East, which probably will have to be replaced, does to our balance of payments. We cannot, however, receive everything from a single source. Therefore we put it together like a puzzle. Hence, when I am talking with one piece of the puzzle, it is not fundamentally important to mention the total of the whole. The Swiss piece [of the puzzle] was Credit Suisse. Right now, I will negotiate with another Swiss bank in Prague.

[Stepanek] Geneva is also the seat of international organizations, economic in character, with which it is not only polite to keep in touch but it is even advantageous. You visited several of them. With what results?

[Klaus] The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has a very positive attitude toward us. They welcome our reforms. Czechoslovakia has long been a member of GATT; it has never been expelled. It has acted there as a dormant participant. It did not want anything ,and it was not under any duress because of its infractions. Of course, everything will change now. We want to be active. One thing we wanted to consult is a term in our economic reform scenario, "import surcharge." We discussed it extensively, and GATT appears to be positive about it. It understands that if we ever introduce this surcharge, then it would be for a short period only. They will accept it as a temporary measure.

In the framework of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA], which in addition to Switzerland associates Iceland, Norway, Austria, Sweden, and Finland, we are more concerned with long-term prospects, i.e., support for a Europe-wide free trade. In this sense, we are also joining in. It is obvious that we need the free trade, that the customs barriers imposed in these countries against Czechoslovak goods must be lowered. We were also interested in what can be done as soon as possible to support the trade with the EFTA members. We sought methods, proposed details. I would like to stress, however, that Czechoslovakia was for long years closed within a single integration and that it is not in our interest to orientate ourselves to the EC alone but to Europe as a whole. Therefore, we have reasons to develop contacts with the EFTA countries as well. We

cannot afford to go again "hrrr ... jump" somewhere and forget other European states. The U.N. European Economic Commission then, which I also visited, is interesting for its analyses. It is an institution which maintains certain knowledge of the problems of the East and Central Europe.

Klaus Outlines Reserves Required by Economy

AU2911192190 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Karel Hvizdala; place and date not given]

[Text] [Hvizdala] After returning from Switzerland, you said on television that the talks you had there were—to date—the most specific of all the talks you have had. Could you tell us what they were about?

[Klaus] You know very well that prior to 1 January we need to have certain financial reserves prepared that will enable us to survive the first onslaught of our new situation in the liberalized world. Switzerland is a country of banks so, of course, I also held talks with these banks about money. However, do not expect me to say anything more specific about this.

[Hvizdala] There is one thing you could tell us: How much capital from abroad do we need for this first onslaught?

[Klaus] Your question has two aspects. The first one is: How much will the probable deficit on our current account—that is, our balance of payments—be? The current account is an expression of the movement of payments for goods and services. One of the issues is how much we expect the annual shortfall in our trade balance to be. This generally hovers around $2.5 billion.

Before coming here I held talks for an hour and a half with Mr. Agevli, the head of an International Monetary Fund mission. Our talks concerned specific conditions for our cooperation, that is, they concerned loans. The International Monetary Fund program for Czechoslovakia has to be concluded by next Wednesday [5 December]. Mr. Agevli brought his own calculations with him; these also hover around the $2.5 billion mark, and they are even so detailed that they indicate which sources this revenue could come from. Some of these sources seemed optimistic to me while others seemed pessimistic; however, this is a task we must see through to the end within the next 10 days.

[Hvizdala] You mentioned another aspect....

[Klaus] The second matter is how much we need to have on 2 January, because when you enter into something new you have to have some reserves in your pocket. The issue now is for how long: for a day, a week, a month? There is no absolutely clear sum involved here; however, it must be large enough so that we do not become insolvent the moment our attempts to import something or other fail dramatically. Ready money and not a specific sum is the issue. Therefore, the resources which we are bargaining with the International Monetary Fund about are so-called ready reserves which we do not have to, but can, use.

Economic Minister on Price Liberalization

AU2911144390 Prague REPORTER in Czech No. 26, 16-22 Nov pp 4,5

[Interview with CSFR Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy by Jiri Seydler and Viktor Vitek; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [REPORTER] Our economy is seting off on the road of liberalization. What will be consequences of this next year?

[Dlouhy] The entire liberalization of the Czechoslovak economy, prices, exchange rates; it all is basically just a liberalization of ownership. The experience of other East European economies indicates that there will be a period of time between the point at which we introduce the reform and the point at which the economy reacts positively. We are facing a period of time characterized by a quite distinct stagnation, which may increase even further as a result of negative external influences. [passage omitted]

There is going to be inflation next year, testing the government-imposed ceiling, and concurrently there will be stagnation, dissolution of companies, bankruptcies, and unemployment. For 1991, I expect a stagflationary situation and, at the same time, inflation, unemployment, and stagnation. [passage omitted]

I assume that there will be three main areas in which the state can help: support for small and medium-sized businesses, the actual state industrial policy, and support for the inflow of foreign investments.

[REPORTER] The year 1991 will probably be a shock for the population. President Havel asserted recently that the impact of the reform will not be so immense and that it is within the power of the state bodies to curb the impact. He probably also had you in mind. What is your opinion on this?

[Dlouhy] The task of every economist who is at the same time a politician is to minimize the disagreeable impact of the reform. One must see, however, the difference between a short-term political effect resulting from our protecting the public from harder shocks, and a long-term effect, because the more we suppress the impact of the reform today, the more we will fear further steps tomorrow. [passage omitted] It could be that our economy, as opposed to other East European economies, has sufficient internal potential to get going in relatively good time, and we can expect small and medium-sized businesses and foreign investments will appear, but we want to support certain areas as well. [passage omitted]

I favor the inflow of foreign capital. We have to make certain very carefully that the foreign investments, but also the loans, go to the new, reformed economy. [passage omitted]

We cannot permit, however, a chaotic foreign privatization at today's prices, when the land is undervalued, as are all our fixed assets—including the content of our brains. If we allowed the inflow of foreign capital now, it would be like agreeing to selling off the Republic. [passage omitted]

The state will contemplate: Yes, this is an enterprise into which we should allow foreign capital, and that even before the actual privatization ensues. This, however, assumes foreign collaborators, foreign consultants, investment banks, the valuation of the factory in convertible currency.... We have attempted this in several cases, like Skoda or telecommunications. However, if I am to assess our progress in privatization with foreign participation over the past year, I am not satisfied. It was not sufficiently professional. [passage omitted]

Survey Views Popularity of OF and VPN

AU2911184790

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27 November on page 2, under the headline "If OF and VPN Became Parties," publishes a 350-word CTK report on an opinion survey conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research to find out how many people would join the Civic Forum (OF) and Public Against Violence (VPN) if these movements became political parties. According to the report, 17 percent of the CSFR population over 15 years of age would join one of these parties. No correspondence could be established between the respondents' background and their answers, the report further states, except for their citizenship. "Ten percent of the Czech Republic citizens were willing to join the OF party: three percent strongly, seven percent less strongly. In Slovakia the readiness to join was higher—16 percent would join VPN 'definitely' and 18 percent 'likely'. Only 35 percent of Slovak citizens excluded any chance of joining, while 79 percent of inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia did so."

Election Results Endanger Coexistence in Slovakia

AU2911184590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Responsibility for All Citizens]

[Text] The local elections, particularly in South Slovakia, have brought about problems that can make the already complicated problem of Hungarian-Slovak—or Slovak-Hungarian—coexistence even more acute in the nearest future. That is to say, in many communities with an ethnically mixed population, Slovaks did not get into representative organs in a proportion corresponding to their percentage in the ethnic structure. The most striking example was, however, when there was no single candidate from the Slovak community to run for a position in local administration.

Such an example could be Gbelce in Nove Zamky District, where there are some 3,000 residents, and four-fifths of the population are ethnic Hungarians. Of 43 candidates to local representative bodies, six were Slovaks, yet among the 24 elected deputies, there was none. Slovak citizens in Gbelce anxiously ask who will represent their interests in local administration. They believe the election law—which caused this situation—is undemocratic, and they point to the fact that under the old regime they had their representatives in the National Committee.

Their skepticism is made even worse by the fact that the winning civic movement, Spoluzitie-Egyutteles, had not shown, before the elections, the degree of tolerance toward Slovaks expected in a democratic society. Particularly some activists of this movement, a number of teachers, did not feel inhibited in allowing activities that do not contribute to Hungarian-Slovak—or Slovak-Hungarian—coexistence.

After the elections the situation in communities with ethnically mixed population will affect not only the atmosphere of mutual relations between Slovaks and Hungarians, but it may further complicate internal political problems in Slovakia. Nationalist parties and movements, which place national demands foremost place in their political programs, may find support for their arguments just here. They might be able to accentuate these arguments if the practice of local representative bodies discriminated Slovaks and hurt their civil rights and interests.

The demand to legally anchor the principle of proportional representation of nationalities in local administration proved to be justified. Life should disprove or confirm whether this demand is justified, so that the lawmakers in the Slovak Parliament would be able to correct their mistake. Before this happens, however, the main burden of responsibility for the position of Slovaks in the regions with ethnically mixed regions should be borne by Slovak and Hungarian politicians. The latter are required to be more responsible because they represent a majority that must guarantee constitutional rights of all Czechoslovak citizens on this territory, regardless of their nationality.

Slovak Commentary on Low Election Turnout

AU2911213990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Abstention Signals Uncertainty"]

[Text] The local elections were a useful litmus test of the parameters of our current political situation. The number of voters that participated in, or abstained from the elections can be taken as a main criterion for the evaluation of the elections. The fact that one-third of

Slovak communities did not present alternative candidates for mayors reflects the current mood in our society. Even if the abstention rate in the elections compares well with other East European countries, we cannot be satisfied with a superficial explanation.

The analyses of the first results showed that the election campaign was not well prepared and that the organization of the elections left much to be desired. The main reason for the citizens' disinterest in the elections is thought to be the disappointment following the June elections and the social frustration connected with the signals of uncertainty that have arisen with the reported radical changes that will be made in the economy. It is mostly the younger generation that is impatient due to expectations unfulfilled after 17 November 1989. Older citizens were still burdened with the stereotype of the old regime which, under the threat of sanctions, forced each and everyone to cast the vote. A higher participation in the elections in villages, as compared to cities, is not only due to the fact that village residents knew their candidates better—they were more aware of the fact that their living conditions will depend on who will represent their interests in local organs.

Many voters did not comprehend the function of the organs of local self-administration and they drew parallels between these organs and the existing National Committees. The majority of them will learn from experience in the times to come that the organs of state administration have been separated from the organs of local self-administration. Self-administrative organs will be independent of the government and will make their own policy as defined by law. Only the generation from the times of the first republic remembers what was the role of local organs in the administration of public matters.

A relatively high percentage of abstentions from voting in local elections is a signal for the politicians to correct some of their attitudes toward the solution of social problems. The fact itself is not very disturbing, but the government should respect it if it wants to continue to have a support by the majority that voted for them in parliamentary elections. In such a context, the abstention from voting in the local elections was not only a manifestation of discontent with the government, but it also gave the government the chance to search for more inspiration in the opinions of the citizens.

Slovak Communists React to Election Results

AU3011184490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia—Party of the Democratic Left on the results of the local elections; place and date not given: "Success Equals Personalities Plus an Alternative"]

[Text] The extent of non-participation in the local elections in comparison to the parliamentary elections indicates, among other things, that the expectations of some citizens have been disappointed. The relatively good results achieved by the Communist Party of Slovakia—Party of the Democratic Left [CPSL—SDL] reflect the need for an alternative left-wing policy and the endeavor to achieve equilibrium in Slovak political life. In this connection, the local elections represent a significant step toward the establishment of a pluralist democracy and an autonomous society. Success in the elections for mayors and council leaders suggests that there are many individuals amidst CPSL—SDL ranks who enjoy an informal authority among their fellow citizens based on a high level of professionalism, morality, and work carried out to the benefit of all. By casting their votes in favor of candidates put forward by the CPSL—SDL, voters have demonstrated their faith in the irreversibility of this party's fundamental changes and their support for their continuation.

The election results oblige the CPSL—SDL to participate in the creation and implementation of a local policy which will assist cooperation and understanding among all the political forces in the interest of the development of towns and communities and their citizens' satisfaction. The CPSL—SDL leadership thanks all the voters for the trust they have shown in the party's candidates and it expresses its conviction that they will actively help those whom they elected as mayors, council leaders, and deputies.

Slovak Finance Minister on New Budget Division

LD2911191990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Interview with Slovak Finance Minister Michal Kovac by editor Magda Pospisilova on 29 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pospisilova] Mr. Minister, you held talks yesterday for the whole morning with your Czech partner and the deputy federal finance minister about the federal and the republics' budgets for next year. You have started to use a new key that has never been used here before. Why was the coefficient 1.91 chosen for dividing incomes and expenses?

[Kovac] We used the new key to prevent the need to specify individual items of the turnover tax and perhaps also individual items of the profit tax, and to determine in each case whether it belongs to the budget of the Slovak Republic or the budget of the Czech Republic. As it is a difficult method—we have inherited deformed value constants regarding turnover tax and prices and profits—we agreed that we should use a method that would, to the best of our knowledge, reflect the resources that would belong to the territory of the relevant republic if these deformed value constants did not exist. This coefficient actually means that one-third of state-wide resources, after subtracting the amount that we agreed should go to the federal budget, will go to the Slovak budget and two-thirds to the Czech budget. This means that the coefficient is nearer to 1:2, but less than 0.9,

because the proportion of the employed population of the Slovak Republic is slightly lower than the proportion of the entire population of the Slovak Republic to the Federative republic.

[Pospisilova] Does this mean that the Slovak Government is satisfied with this division?

[Kovac] I do not know about the Slovak Government. I still have not had the opportunity to inform it. My first deputy, (Bosak) briefed the presidium of the government yesterday. Personally, I am satisfied. I am convinced that any other calculation using a different method would not arrive at any other constants. If it did, it would again require a discussion with the other partner. This means that an agreement must exist today until a market economy is in full operation and the reforms in tax legislation and the entire tax system are carried out.

Further on Soviet Ministers' Visits, Yeltsin Visit

LD2911193590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Individual Soviet republics are more and more often winning themselves a place on the international scene. Foreign ministers of two of them, the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, visited our country. Yesterday evening my colleague Petr Voldan met with them. I think that they are the first to foreign ministers of these republics to have been elected democratically. What did their visit mean for Czechoslovakia?

[Begin Voldan recording] Journalists talked about various things with Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Zlenko. It was interesting to hear that the exact date of the visit of the Russian parliament's chairman, Boris Yeltsin, to Czechoslovakia was discussed. This visit is being prepared very intensively. Documents about both political and economic cooperation between the Russian Federation and our federation, as well as both the Czech and the Slovak Republics, are to be signed.

It was impossible to avoid some questions directed to the head of the Ukrainian diplomacy. Anatoliy Zlenko was obviously reluctant to give a straight answer about his views on the efforts of the sub-Carpathian Ukraine to become independent or possibly part of Czechoslovakia. He said that officially this issue does not exist for him. It is in the discussion stage, and various statements are being considered.

According to Anatoliy Zlenko, the Ukraine's attitude toward the much-discussed issue of nuclear weapons possessed by individual Soviet republics is that it follows the principle stated in the sovereignty declaration, that is, the principle of a neutral state, which is that these weapons should be neither produced, spread, nor stored. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Gulf Crisis

LD3011192390 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—On behalf of the government, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued the following statement in Budapest on Friday:

The Republic of Hungary has a vested interest in enforcing international law and legality in international life and inter-state relations.

For this reason, it condemned the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait resolutely and without delay, and assured its support for the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council aimed at eliminating this aggression and its consequences.

The Republic of Hungary welcomes the highly important Resolution 678 of the Security Council, which provides a last chance for Iraq to fulfil the previous resolutions of the Security Council until January 15, 1991.

Expressing the hope that Iraq will take the opportunity offered, the Republic of Hungary deems it necessary to express the fact that it agrees with the notion that in the event of Iraq failing to comply with the said resolutions, member states will guarantee the observance of the Security Council resolutions and the restoration of international peace and security in the region in compliance with the principles of the UN Charter by all the necessary means.

Colonel Details Soviet Troop Pullout Progress

LD3011205490 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—By late November, 771 Soviet military trains had left Hungary, Colonel Gyorgiy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, has told MTI's correspondent.

He said that the mechanized infantry division of Szekesfehervar had withdrawn in November, ahead of the original schedule in mid-December.

To date, more than 50,000 Soviet citizens—soldiers, civilian staff, and family members—have left Hungary. The pullout involved 15,000 technical devices, including 11,650 wheeled and 780 caterpillar vehicles, 708 tanks and 1,020 other military vehicles, as well as 220,000 tonnes of materials.

In keeping with the earlier Hungarian promise, the Defence Ministry has handed over a preliminary list of objects qualified as unfit for use to the Soviet side, mainly facilities of inappropriate technical design differing from the Hungarian standards and built without licence, Keleti said.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Romanian 'Slanders'

LD3011123390 Budapest MTI in English 1043 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Statement released to MTI by unidentified Foreign Ministry spokesman in Budapest]

[Text] Budapest, 29 Nov (MTI)— On November 29, 1990 Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned Romanian Ambassador Simion Pop to the Foreign Ministry and gave the following information:

Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned the Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest to the Foreign Ministry on November 17, shortly after Imre Szokai's departure from Bucharest, and, with a rhetoric highly uncustomary in diplomatic contacts, brought up totally unfounded accusations against the Hungary deputy secretary of (?state).

According to the Romanian secretary of sate, his Hungarian negotiating partner arrived for the consultation with second thoughts and acted in an incorrect manner. The Romanian secretary of state extended the accusations to the whole of official Hungarian policy, including the highest level.

Although Mr Romulus Neagu laid forth the above as his personal opinion, it cannot be left out of consideration that the extremely grave slanders and accusations were voiced by a state secretary, a member of the Romanian Government, playing a major role in the shaping of Hungaro-Romanian relations. To a question from our Bucharest ambassador, he confirmed that he could not disregard his personal view as a government member in charge of Hungaro-Romanian relations, to it would palpably influence his official activity, too.

It is needless to mention the facts relating to the presidential message, precisely because they are facts. However, we are at a loss to understand the allegation of Secretary of State Neagu that the head of the Hungarian delegation did not take along a message, since he presented not only a verbal message from Mr Arpad Goncz, but also written draft documents to president Iliescu. What was really shocking to the Hungarian side was the Romanian politician's harsh rhetoric, his usage of words and the obvious slanders he made. The unprecedented occurrence that the Romanian side qualifies a high-ranking Hungarian diplomat as a liar in connection with conveying the message was also intended to discredit the sender of the message. The Hungarian Government firmly rejects the insults from Secretary of State Mr Neagu and his accusations covering the top political level.

The Hungarian consul general in Gluj the Romanian Government refuses to correct the unlawful action of the Ceausescu dictatorship, displaying a discriminative approach. [sentence as received]

We find it incomprehensible and unaccountable for Romania to be unwilling to admit the obvious fact of the refugee question, because of which we cannot help the Romanian refugees staying in Hungary return to their country safe, if they wish to. The Romanian Government also undertook a concrete obligation to this effect in the final act of the Vienna follow-up meeting, which it confirmed at the latest Paris summit as well. It was precisely on the basis of European norms and humanitarian considerations that the Hungarian government had initiated well-intentioned discussions with the Romanian side on this matter.

The Hungarian Government is completely at a loss to understand the fact that after the attack launched by the Romanian official against the top level of Hungarian policy, now the Romanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Budapest addresses, before the broadest public, critical remarks to the president and prime minister of the Republic of Hungary.

With his words, the Romanian ambassador seriously violated, in the most evident manner, all written and unwritten diplomatic rules by reprimanding the president and prime minister of the Republic of Hungary.

Ferenc Somogyi reminded the ambassador of what he had said on presenting his credentials, namely that we should take his statements as if they were by the Romanian president. This only aggravates the recent words of the Romanian ambassador, and now the question is whether Mr Ion Iliescu would accept them to be their own. The Hungarian secretary of state pointed out that ambassadors are expected to promote, and not to hinder, inter-state relations: they have the duty to accurately communicate official government statements.

Secretary of State Somogyi put the question whether Ambassador Pop, fully aware of his responsibility, could confirm that any member of the Hungarian Government had made any statements fitting the accusation indicated in the interview. If Mr Pop not only thinks that a "wave" of irredentism is threatening Hungary, but also expresses his serious concern that "frontline" politicians will join this trend, it is to be feared that he will find it difficult to keep contact with those whom he condemned as irredentist or conceited. It is alarming from the point of view of Romania and the Hungaro-Romanian relations that a vacuum might come to surround the Romanian ambassador to Budapest, considerably obstructing him in carrying out his functions. Naturally, these functions do not include criticism of the leaders of the host country and their activities, or the spreading of false allegations. Secretary of State Somogyi stated that Prime Minister Mr Jozsef Antall would not meet the Romanian ambassador without receiving his apologies in public.

According to the Hungarian secretary of state, the Romanian ambassador was not unfortunately familiar enough with Hungary and the Hungarian Government as he said in the interview that Hungary intentionally and persistently belittles its eastern neighbour, there is an escalation of irredentist and chauvinist feelings, a great proportion of the mass media supplies tendentious and one-sided information on Romanian reality, and the extensive chauvinist and irredentist circles are upsetting and inciting citizens in hundreds of books.

By saying this, Ambassador Simion Pop seriously insulted the Hungarian people who want to see Romania on their side as a good neighbour, although the ambassador would also have to facilitate a compromise between Hungarians and Romanians.

Asking his words to be [word indistinct] fowarded to the Romanian Government, Secretary of State Somogyi confirmed that the Republic of Hungary would contine to persistently strive for the normalisation of relations with Romania, as it had in the past, while maintaining its position of principle, consistently representing the country's interests and observing its international commitments.

As the Hungarian prime minister has repeatedly pointed out at international forums, Hungary does not aim at isolating Romania, but it would like to see Romania become an integral part of evolving European co-operation in compliance with the European obligations, customs and expectations. Finally, the secretary of state expressed the hope that the Romanian Government will show a readiness for this, stop taking steps to the contrary and display adequate wisdom with a view to the genuine interests of Romanians.

Ambassador Pop did not give a substantive reaction to the above.

Slovak Prime Minister Cited on Bilateral Relations

LD0112233490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Peter Nyaradi report on news conference addressed by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; place and date not given—recorded, Meciar speaks in Slovak with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Meciar, who has already twice postponed his visit to Hungary, as been speaking to newsmen about Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations. Our editorial was represented by Peter Nyaradi.

[Nyaradi] Vladimir Meciar began the conversation with Hungarian journalists in a fairly good mood.

[Meciar] I would like to assure everybody that I have no prejudices whatsoever. Furthermore, I forgive those present who have quoted things I never said.

[Nyaradi] After that, the Slovak prime minister immediately switched to a more serious tone.

[Meciar] I would like to state that, at that time, to call every Hungarian a member of the Arrow Cross [Hungarian Nazi Party, 1943-1944] and to employ mass measures against them was not right. It was as a result of this that a good part of the Hungarians living here were resettled in the Czech lands, from where they only returned after a long time to their traditional parts.

[Nyaradi] After this, it was time to remember the more immediate past. This is what Vladimir Meciar had to say about 1968:

[Meciar] Although we were very sorry, we could still not forget the fact that the Hungarian Army was among those who entered our country. More interesting than this, and perhaps not entirely a coincidence, is that the Hungarian troops were then occupying those lines which at one time formed the frontier of the old Hungary.

[Nyaradi] After the recent past came the present; Mr. Meciar first mentioned the spring elections.

[Meciar] At the time of the Hungarian elections—and you, too, must acknowledge this, with objectivity—in the operation and campaigns of the Hungarian parties, there cropped up slogans that bore the imprints of nationalistic ideas. This was coupled with a process in the course of which an imprecise date went into circulation in your country about the Hungarians living in Slovakia. I can say that we received this with much confusion in our country. Was it a question of a lack of information, we wondered? Or was this how you wished to support the group of Hungarian nationalists in Slovakia, which is fairly small in numbers but which exists nevertheless? Perhaps this was how you wished to oppose the Slovak nationalists?

More important that this would be for us to decide today what we should do. Should we conduct ideological warfare with one another? Or should we declare that these things at present are of second rank, and that we should rather strive for wide-ranging economic, cultural, and other cooperation? Let us exchange ideas and people and let us trust in life's development to resolve these nationality issues. Let us not summon up ideology. Ideology, in fact, can only represent an obstacle.

Official Confirms Ministers Offered Resignations

LD3011112390 Budapest MTI in English 1033 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 29 Nov (MTI)—In his briefing to the correspondents from the radio and MTI in the break of the Hungarian Government's session early on Thursday evening [29 November], spokesman Balazs Laszlo confirmed the news carried in Thursday's "NEPSZAVA" that the ministers had offered their resignation to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall both jointly and separately. This step of theoretical importance, taken back in October, was aimed at helping the prime minister to carry out his likely plans for the govenrment reshuffle. However, Jozsef Antall has not since taken advantage of this opportunity.

With regard to the government session, Balazs Laszlo said that several decrees were drafted to ensure the viability of the local governments and special organizations set up, such as the consumer watchdog.

A national labour centre will also be set up with a network of country branches acting as employment agencies and fixing the sum of unemployment benefit.

The session dealt with the recent visit to Italy by a Hungarian delegation. The Italian Government offered Hungary a loan of 12,000 million lire for the purchase of petrol. Now the government is commissioning the president of the National Bank of Hungary to look into whether it is worth making use of the credit.

Finance Minister Details 1991 Budgetary Needs

LD3011101790 Budapest MTI in English 0638 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Budapest, November 29 [date as received] (MTI)—Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the European Communities, held talks with Ferenc Rabar, minister of finance, and Gyorgy Skcanyi, president of the National Bank of Hungary, shortly after his arrival here on a one-day visit.

According to information [words indistinct], detailing the financial difficulties faced by Hungary, Ferenc Rabar said that next year close to 1,000 million dollars would be needed to keep the country going, almost the same amounts as the Soviets owe to the Hungarians, in a debt that has mounted up in bilateral trade over the last two years. Recovering this sum is no mean feat for Hungary, being the light-weight economic power that it is. [passage omitted]

1991 Budget Submitted; Finance Ministry Comments

LD3011191790 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government submitted Hungary's 1991 budget bill to parliament on Friday, Peter Kiraly, state secretary for the Ministry of Finance, has told journalist.

The budget deficit has been forecast to be 78,000 million in 1991, a sum still far in excess of the 50,000-million ceiling set by the International Monetary Fund, but considerable lower than the initial target of 230,000 million fixed in view of the overall demands of the various ministries.

The state secretary said that the government had cut the deficit from the 90-100 million forints set out in the draft version through further cut-backs in state support.

Agricultural export subsidies have been cut back by another 10,000 million forints to 30,000 million forints next year, while other export subsidies have also been reduced. Additional savings have been made in the Investment Fund, the Tourism Fund, the Regional Development Fund, the Employment Fund, support to the parties, social organizations, and investment subsidies to the Interior and Transport Ministries.

The state secretary for the Ministry of Finance added that the Hungarian government expects a 3 per cent drop in the GDP in 1991, and a 4-5 per cent fall in exports to Eastern European countries will account for most of the drop—25-30 percent—while exports to the West will grow by about 3-4 per cent.

The Hungarian Government forecasts that the switch-over to dollar accounting in Comecon trade will result in a 12-14 per cent loss owing to deteriorating terms of trade.

Hungary's balance of payment deficit is expected to be 1,200 million dollars, down on the 1,500 million of the draft version.

In order to finance its external payment obligations, the country will have to take out 4.5 million dollars' worth of credit, most of which is almost certain to be granted, Kiraly said.

FKgP Contemplates Leaving Government Coalition

LD0112184890 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—"Will Smallholders [Independent Smallholders Party—FKgP] leave the governing coalition due to differing opinions on the land issue?" Such was one of the questions put to Jeno Gerbovits, deputy secretary general of the Smallholders' Party and minister without portfolio, by journalists after a party rally held in Zsombo (SE Hungary).

"Some see it like this," he said, adding that in his opinion, the Smallholders should decide whether it was better for the party to stay or leave. The Smallholders are still demanding the re-establishment of land ownership after the 1947 model. The possibilities for realizing this demand, however, and the opinions about it in parliament and society must be taken into account, Gerbovits said. All this leads the Smallholders to come to a compromise on this issue. But it was also possible, he said, that party members would refuse to do so.

He said he did not know anything pertaining to the leaders of the Smallholders in the planned government changes. He did not think, he added, that the prime minister would wish to discuss this prior to the session of the Smallholders' executive board, given the priority being given to the state budget by the government at the moment.

Ferenc Jozsef Nagy, president of the Smallholders' Party and minister of agriculture, stressed in his speech the importance of calling the leaders of the past 40 years to account, so that restructuring could be speeded up.

SZDSZ Holds Three-Day Conference 30 Nov-2 Dec

LD0112122690 Budapest MTI in English 1045 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—The three-day national delegates' conference of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] started in Szombathely, western Hungary, on Friday evening. Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, has greeted the conference in a letter.

The delegates heard a political report by AFD President Janos Kis.

Over the past year, Hungary has undergone one of the greatest revolutions in its history. It became a constitutional democracy with a freely elected parliament and freely elected local governments. The country may even become a part of the process unifying Europe in the foreseeable future. As a consequence, Hungary has every reason to be characterised by a growing self- confidence and an awareness of its future. Nevertheless, we must accept that half a year after the first free elections, hope has vanished, leaving Hungarian society disillusioned and unconfident. A growing number of people are turning away from the government, the parliamentary parties and the institutions of representative democracy. There is a widening gap between society and those filling her political strata.

The Antall government has not taken any palpable measure against the economic crisis. It fell into the captivity of the electoral campaign of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], promising a smooth, painless economic transition. Now it must face the fact that it is unable to adhere to its promise.

The government idled and postponed action in the economic field. In the meantime, it threw itself, with incredible zeal, into the generation of ideological affairs. It spoke as a representative of the whole nation, and tried to isolate the opposition as an insignificant minority alien to the nation. It portrayed its policy as the realization of christian teaching, and identified the secular parties with atheism.

It would be an error to delude ourselves that public dissatisfaction is only addressed to the government coalition. A growing part of the general public has turned against parliament and the parties, and identified the AFD as a participant in unproductive ideological debates.

The Alliance of Free Democrats is a liberal party with social commitment. When we determine the AFD's policy for the period to come, we must be aware of our

particular responsibility. In the short term, we have two options to choose from. In the first case, the majority of the population will be poorer next year but the economic processes will be kept under control, there will be goods in the shops and, after an initial, substantial price rise, inflation will be slowed down. In the second case, the economy will be in a mess and inflation will be accelerating, Kis said.

Although a national unity government would probably be welcomed by a considerable part of the general public, the situation between the political parties is not yet ripe for raising this idea. Within the government coalition, there is a single, strong standpoint, that of Jozsef Antall, who insists on the small coalition of the HDF, the Smallholders and the Christian Democrats. However, until the idea of changing the coalition becomes ripe within the HDF itself, we would only increase political tension if we demanded the immediate formation of a national unity government.

If the relationship between the HDF and the AFD is settled, a kind of consensus which forms the basis of all democracies might be established between the six parliamentary parties. The last time the democratic parties were in unison was when they stood against the collapsing party state. In that consensus, a greater role was played by what we did not want than what we wanted. Now we can create a consensus in what we want. The consensus of parties is based on a minimum of liberal ideas in all Western democracies. A liberal minimum of this kind can be specified in Hungary as well. The task we face now is to establish a minimum agreement between the parties on the one hand, and the parties and society on the other. In the months to come, the AFD should first of all contribute to establishing this new consensus, AFD President Janos Kis said.

Delegates Address Meeting

LD0212223590 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—On the second day of the national delegates' conference of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] nearly 50 delegates had addressed the conference by the evening hours.

Among the speakers was Ivan Peto, parliamentary faction leader of the AFD, an executive, and earlier spokesman of AFD.

According to Peto, the ruling coalition led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], did not take long to weaken after the elections in March 1990. Given this situation, the AFD do not wish to use unparliamentary means to oust the government but are looking for means of dialogue.

The AFD is often urged to work out a programme for handling the crisis. Such a programme cannot be made, Peto said, because a job of this order requires enormous political machinery. The AFD, however, can and must take a stand on such concrete issues as privatization, re-privatization and compensation.

Member of parliament Imre Mecs said that the spirit of 1956 seems to be fading fast.

In the opinion of sociologist and member of parliament, Ottilia Solt, an unbridgeable gap exists between the parties and public opinion. She expressed her doubt whether a society could endure this for long.

The AFD's standing beside the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ] was also discussed at the conference. Some delegates said the FYD has become more attractive lately than the AFD.

The endeavours to centralise the Budapest organization of the AFD have also been criticized.

Speaking about economic issues, AFD economic expert Karoly Attila Soos said that AFD wished to submit proposals to parliament on the taxation law in its draft stages, enterprise, modification of the tax differentials and social expenses. The AFD is ready to support the government's moves in the right direction.

The agenda of the conference includes a discussion of the new draft statutes of the AFD. In the meantime, the electoral committee is counting the votes for the members of the executive body of the party.

Faction Leader Tolgyessy Speaks

LD0112190890 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI) - The 30,000 members of the largest opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] are being represented by 900 delegates at a three-day national delegates' conference in Szombathely (West Hungary).

On the first day, the delegates heard a political report by AFD President Janos Kis.

So far, 74 delegates have announced their intention to address the conference.

The address by Peter Tolgyessy, parliamentary faction leader of the AFD up to the end of October, caused particular interest.

Tolgyessy stated that the institutional system in Hungary was going through a crisis, which would not be resolved by merely replacing ministers. The way out, he said, was through continuous consultations of politicians, experts and unions, to jointly decide on the distribution of burdens and find the limits of different layers of society for bearing these.

Change within the government was necessary, he added, but forming a government of national unity was no solution. A government in today's Hungary could not be

imagined without the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] and this situation would not be changed by new elections, either.

According to Tolgyessy, the crisis could only be handled by keeping people well informed about the problems through a series of negotiations.

He pushed for the renewal of the AFD organization so that it could pose a real alternative to the government. The AFD should prepare itself for government at some time in the future, he said.

Kis Reelected Chairman

LD0212150590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Gyorgy Ney report on the Alliance of Free Democrats elections in Szombathely; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ney] Janos Kis has been elected party chairman by the delegates' assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] at Szombathely. Imre Mecs, the other candidate, was the first to congratulate the chairman who, in his brief acceptance speech, said that the SZDSZ leadership was united, and that the disputes which are natural in other parties are not of a political character, and do not prevent loyal cooperation.

The chairman of the liaison and ethics committee is Otilia Solt. The assembly will meet again within the next two months, and will adopt the new SZDSZ statutes.

Meeting Ends; Executive Elected

LD0212214490 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] does not wish to oust the government or form a government of national unity, re-elected party President Janos Kis said in the closing address of the three-day conference in Szombathely (W. Hungary) on Sunday.

The most important task of the AFD, he added, was to help create a consensus enabling a change in the nature of the relations between government and parliament as well as those between parliamentary parties and society.

The national delegates, conference re-elected party president Janos Kis in a secret ballot with an overwhelming majority. (The other candidate for the post was Imre Mecs.) Members of the executive are: Gabriella Beki, Peter Hack, Miklos Hanko Farago, Miklos Rajk, Karoly Attila Soos, and Ferenc Wekler. Peter Tolgyessy refused to stand as a candidate but was the first to congratulate those elected.

During the conference, resolutions were passed concerning the new political situation, the ways of fighting the economic crisis, freedom of conscience and religion, trade unions and the party factions in local administrations. The issue of the amendment of party statutes will be discussed at the next conference, probably in Szeged (SE Hungary).

In its resolution concerning freedom of conscience and religion, the conference states:

"The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) is a party for those of all creeds, a liberal, political community of believers and non-believers. We respect our members, religious beliefs and world pictures and regard these as personal matters. We wish that this spirit of tolerance and understanding prevailed in Hungarian society as a whole. We think that religious denominations, and individual attitudes towards religion should not interfere with politics. Our slogan is: 'Free state, free church, free citizen'."

The AFD's resolution on trade unions states that the most pressing issue is the creation of free trade unions in all sectors of industry, and in all workplaces. They call upon the government not to negotiate with any one trade union separately, by-passing others.

The AFD has a 13-point economic programme. Fighting inflation is viewed as its most important task. It wants to realize privatization in a way different from that of the government and it sets great store by the blue ribbon committee and the resumption of its work. It rejects the concept of organizing the world expo and stresses the importance of preserving business relations with Eastern Europe, especially the Soviet Union.

MADISZ Conference Elects Patai Leader

LD0212233890 Budapest MTI in English 2006 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Youth Forum (HDYF) [MADISZ] held its 3rd national conference on December 1-2, electing Jozsef Patai as its president.

The new president told journalists that the HDYF is legally and organizationally independent of the Hungarian Democratic forum (HDF) [MDF]. It admits, however, to an affinity with it, he said.

The cultural and political movement with a membership of 2,500 is a focus for interweaving strands of Christian Democratic, national-liberal and populist thought.

Recently, contact has been made with the youth organization of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] in the hope of forming a round-table for discussing problems concerning youth in Hungary.

Patai said there was a central European group inside HDYF developing relations with the youth of Hungarian ethnic minorities beyond the borders of the country.

Government To Discuss Budget, Taxation, Immunity

LD3011222790 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—Until the budget is adopted, the Budget, Tax, and Financial Committee of the National Assembly will summarize the amendments proposed by the other committees, Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, told his usual press briefing on Friday.

He said that, under a house committee decision, the Monday and Tuesday plenary meetings would be longer, and, contrary to the government's request, no new session day would be introduced.

The plenary session on Monday, from December 3 onwards, will begin an hour earlier, at 2 pm, and last until 8 pm, while the Tuesday sessions will be held from 9 am to 8 pm.

In reply to a question from MTI's correspondent, Szabad said that as parliament had not officially been notified of the finance minister's resignation, the government would be represented by the current finance minister in the debate on the budget.

Journalists were told that parliament would discuss three immunity cases, two of which involve the suspension of the right to immunity at the proposal of the immunity and incompatibility committee. Madai of the Alliance of Free Democrats and Sandor Kavassy of the Independent Smallholders' Party are accused of libel, but neither of them will be prosecuted as MP's. Their case will be brought to the plenary session.

The general debate on the taxation laws is about to begin. The house committee has arrived at the agreement that, should the budget law require it, the general debate could go on until December 17. The debate on the legal status of public servants with 150 proposed amendments will probably be concluded on Tuesday, with the interpolations and questions to follow in the afternoon.

Defense Ministry Spokesman Queried on Budget

LD0112230590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Defense Ministry spokesman Laszlo Keleti by Peter Szorenyi; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] It is already clear that the Defense Ministry is dissatisfied with the billions which the State Budget plans to allocate to it. The ministry backs its demands with weighty arguments and we can only hope that the hypothetical scenarios will never become reality.

[Begin recording] [Szorenyi] Your ministry would like to get some 8 billion forints more from the 1991 state budget than planned by the Finance Ministry—that is, about 55 billions, whereas this year it is getting 40 billions. [passage omitted]

[Keleti] We think that if there is a need for defense of the homeland, for an army, then there is a need for the financial sums necessary for these. There are also certain economic factors which justify the increase of the Defense Ministry's budget. Inflation is expected to grow even more next year; furthermore, from now on regarding arms components purchasing, we will have to switch from ruble accounting to dollar accounting which means an approximate three-fold increase in the price differential. [passage omitted]

At the same time, it is our plan and idea to have the army move in the direction of a professional army.

According to my knowledge, all budgetary institutions will have a 20 percent wage improvement; we also want to have this, because, according to certain calculations, there will be 30 percent inflation. According to other estimates, however, there will be a 50 percent inflation next year. It is, therefore, our fundamental duty to maintain the entitlement of the professional soldiers so it at least could keep up with inflation. [passage omitted]

It is also conceivable that we will need to start to live off our fuel reserves, parts and other reserves put aside for emergencies. We will be able to carry out only in-house training because the more expensive training is on the exercise ground and shooting ranges; such modified training will backfire in their standard of training.

[Szorenyi] To these kind of things, the average citizen replies that it was only a few days ago that the representative of the European states and the United States had negotiations in Paris and agreed on a kind of disarmament. In other words, the Army is not important; after this, Hungary will not have to take this military game as seriously, so costs can be reduced.

[Keleti] Our country is in Eastern Central Europe and is now in a peculiar political environment. Such passions can explode—and there are examples of this in neighboring countries—which could endanger our security.

[Szorenyi] Are you seriously saying that within the still-existing Warsaw Pact the member states would attack Hungary and that we must prepare for this? Is this not some kind of invoking the devil?

[Keleti] It is quite obvious that the Warsaw Pact as a military organization is living its last days. I do not, for one minute, say that an attack may come from the direction of any country; however, in the country of our northern neighbor, Czechoslovakia, it is commonly known that anti-Hungarian nationalist views have, regretfully, taken the upper hand. It is also known that the leadership of the Slovak Republic has asked for the strengthening of the Army stationed on the territory of the Slovak Republic.

If we look at our eastern neighbor, the Soviet Union is facing enormous—as yet, not even predictable—social changes which too could have such consequences and could bring about a certain security danger.

[Szorenyi] I consider it rather insincere that the Hungarian Army could take up arms against any kind of eastern enemy; the Soviet Army or even the Army of the Ukraine is so huge and strong that the Hungarian Army could not seriously be an obstacle for them.

[Keleti] This is not what is at stake. The issue is that—if owing to the social changes there—people, for example, would come over in mases to Hungarian territory then we would in some way be able to prevent this flood.

[Szorenyi] For this we would not need aircraft components, for example.

[Keleti] There could be a need for an army, however—for an organized force—under any circumstances. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Despite the constantly deepening economic financial and budgetary crisis, no obstacle is being placed in front of the modernization of the army in Romania. The details are provided by Otto Oltvanyi.

[Oltvanyi] The Romanian political authorities have erected obstacles in their relations with neighboring countries. Relations with the Warsaw Pact members have worsened. The situation that evolved in Soviet Moldova, the dispute artificially created with Hungary, the anti-Hungarian sentiments which are fanned in Transylvania, the problems with Yugoslavia, or, for that matter, with Bulgaria—related to either the environment or tourism—do burden the Romanian leadership in respect of cooperation with neighboring countries.

Regarding the future of the Warsaw Pact, Romania also professes the need for its renewal, but the documents formulate things in a much more nuanced way; they indicate—in accordance with the Romanian diplomatic practice—wait- and-see tendencies.

My judgment is that in Romania the December budget debates in Parliament will not be similar to those in the Hungarian parliament. Mock debates can take place as they did before, when other drafts were debated; therefore, I have no doubt that the austerity program will be adopted.

Romania's foreign debt is minimal; therefore, even the World Bank does not exert the same pressure on the Bucharest administration as in the case of Hungary.

Regarding the defense expenditure, the present political situation in Romania is conducive for the modernization of the Army and the improvement of weapons as a priority. When some of the Romanian papers report that a danger of a surprise military attack by Hungary exists—when the weekly ROMANIA MARE writes that, according to obtained Hungarian secret military plans in the first moment of the attack, in the dawn hours, Hungarian paratroopers land on the passes of the Carpathians to block the retreat of Romanian units stationed in the Transylvanian Basin—they not only create fear and increase the anti-Hungarian sentiments, they also help in the legislature the adoption of defense expenditure serving modernisation within the Army.

Let us add to this the leadership of such an army out of whose ranks generals and leading officers have been removed and in which the action group of young officers is (?without) political support but is increasingly beginning to exert a strong influence. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Organizations Form 'Farmers' Union'

LD0112210690 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 1 (MTI)—The representatives of six national and regional agricultural organizations, comprising more than 2,500 entrepreneurs and farmers decided in Kecskemet (East Hungary) on Saturday to form a national federation under the name of "Farmers' Union."

With small farmers being utterly defenseless at present, they must unite to protect themselves, participants said.

The members of the Farmers' Union will help each other by creating business information channels, jointly organizing production and selling, and setting up a bank.

The union will also take a stand on issues of price-policy, the compensation found, and taxation.

Cancellation of Foreign Broadcasts Denied

LD2711194890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The president of Hungarian Radio has denied that radio programs broadcast for those abroad will be cancelled.

Csaba Gombar said that complete cessation of these broadcasts was never intended. He said that at the moment, they are working on two variations which will soon be coordinated with the Foreign Ministry and the relevant committees of the government. According to Csaba Gombar, it is regrettable that rumors have been circulated; in a week or two it will be possible to say more about the fate of the foreign broadcasts.

Citizens Committees Adopt Declaration on Elections

LD0212223990 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—Participants in an extraordinary conference of citizens committees considered here today reasons for the unexpected results of the first round of the presidential elections and a strategy for the run-off.

The conference adopted a declaration appealing to the whole society for a general, joint participation in the election of Polish president.

Leader of the Citizens' Committee for Lech Walesa Zdzislaw Najder analyzed the situation before the second round.

Reviewing one and a half years of the activity of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, Najder stated that the cabinet had been warned that it did not pursue a proper informational policy and held on to the round table accords too closely in face of the communists' defeat.

There are no grounds to accuse Walesa of breaking Solidarity's unity, Najder stated.

He also opined that it was a mistake of Mazowiecki's electoral staff to carry on a negative campaign. By telling people that Walesa is "unpredictable, unsteerable," etc. they indeed drew some potential voters away from him. Those however did not support Tadeusz Mazowiecki, but voted mainly for Stanislaw Tyminski, Najder stated.

The leader of the Citizens Committee also referred to the question of cooperation between groups originating from Solidarity. The idea of reconciliation of the camps that fought against each other in the elections is beautiful, he said, but today Lech Walesa can be supported only on our terms as reconciliation, like ruling, requires social support.

The Citizens Committees adopted the following declaration:

"Compatriots. The outcome of the second round of elections will determine whether we are going to live in a free, democratic Poland whose construction was initiated by the movement led by Lech Walesa.

"The events of recent days have shown that the upspringing expectations are dramatically endangered. We appeal to the whole society, in the name of the highest reasons, the welfare of the nation and the state, for a general, joint participation in the election of Polish president.

"Poland is at stake. Vote for Lech Walesa."

The conference rejected by the majority vote a draft open letter to "the leaders of the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's propaganda apparatus" which criticized both the methods of carrying on the electoral campaign in the first round and the present support for Lech Walesa's candidature.

The electoral appeal and the resolution of the Citizens' Committee for Lech Walesa adopted on December 1 were included among the documents of the conference.

The next conference, scheduled for January 13, will consider privatization.

Walesa, Tymenski To Take Part in Briefing, Debate

Tyminski's Office Issues Statement

LD3011160390 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—Stanislaw Tyminski's electoral office sent a statement to PAP, saying this:

In connection with the fact that the press and radio reported that Tyminski's and Walesa's staffs agreed the date of a TV debate of both candidates for Sunday December 2 on the first TV channel at 8.00 p.m., we say that there are still no decisions officially and formally accepted by both sides.

Our stand on the joint TV debate of both candidates for the Presidency has been known for a long time: Such a debate should be held only on December 6, the last day of the electoral campaign and be its final feature.

Tyminski Fails To Participate

LD3011200990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1850 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Jan Dworak, deputy chairman for radio and television, has made the following statement: In view of a statement made by Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski in his electoral program today, we now state that between Friday, 23 November and Thursday, 29 November, we failed to acquire Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski's agreement to his participation in the "Interpelacje" program, despite a written submission of the program's format, and numerous, including written, requests for confirmation of his participation. In light of numerous telephone calls, we state that tomorrow, [1 December] Polish television will transmit a live relay of the news conference of the two candidates for the post of president at 1730 [1630 GMT].

Radio Receives Conflicting Details

LD3011233990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1945 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] We are receiving contradictory information regarding the news conferences and televised debates of the presidential candidates. Statements by both candidates contradict each other. According to a fax we received from Gdansk, Lech Walesa will be going to Warsaw tomorrow to take part in a news conference

which is to take place at a television studio at 1830 [1730 GMT]. Stanislaw Tyminski's news conference is to take place at 1720 [1620 GMT]. The order of the meetings with journalists was decided by lottery. Initially, we received information that Stanislaw Tyminski anticipated a conference at INTERPRESS tomorrow. Meanwhile, another telex from this agency says that Stanislaw Tyminski's staff has informed that, in view of the most important (?word) which is the joint news conference, he agrees to the meeting place proposed to him late in the day at the Polish Television building.

TV Ready To Host Debate

LD0212113290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] The management of Polish Television states: Everything is ready for the television debate to take place today at 2000 [1900 GMT] in studio number four between both candidates for the office of president. Polish TV states that it will wait for the candidates until the last moment, that is until 2000. If Polish TV does not receive the agreement of the candidates, or if one of the candidates does not appear, the debate will not take place.

Let us recall that at the press conference yesterday, Lech Walesa confirmed his readiness for a TV debate today. Stanislaw Tyminski stated that the best time for the debate will be 6 December. From the clarification of Polish TV, it transpires that in the course of meetings with TV management, the plenipotentiaries of the electoral staffs of both candidates agreed that the TV debate between Lech Walesa and Stanislaw Tyminski will take place on 2 December at 2000 in television studio number four.

Candidates Hold News Conference

LD0212013190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 1 Dec 90

[News conference by presidential candidates Lech Walesa and Stanislaw Tyminski with local and foreign reporters and unidentified moderator in Warsaw —live]

[Excerpts] [Andrzej Drawicz, head of radio and television committee] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of the management and teams of our institution, I welcome all those who will be watching us today. In particular, I am pleased to welcome both candidates for the office of the president of the glorious Republic, Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski and Lech Walesa. Welcome. We are very pleased that thanks to the initiative of Polish Television this meeting is taking place, the first such meeting during the current electoral campaign. We would like our institution to be the platform on which an impartial, matter of fact, and objective presentation can take place. This is how this evening has occurred. The news conference will be conducted by Michal Komar and Maciej Wierzynski. I now hand over to them. [passage omitted]

[Letowski] Maciej Letowski from Wiadomosci Dnia [news]. I would like to ask Mr. Tyminski to present to his electorate the three passports that he is using. You are a citizen of three countries. How do you imagine your loyalty to the Polish state as president if, at the same time, you have citizenship in two other countries? Should your electorate worry that, since you have left Poland once, you might do again in some difficult period for our country, taking advantage of these two passports?

[Tyminski] If I win the elections, I am prepared to give up my foreign citizenship.

[Sito] Pawel Sito from ELITA fortnightly. A question to Mr. Tyminski: During your last news conference at the INTERPRESS agency, we found out that, in principle, you support the introduction of martial law. In any case, you support the person of General Wojciech Jaruzelski. All this time we have been unable to find out in detail what is your attitude toward the communist system which governed Poland for 45 years. Can you say today what your attitude is toward the communist authorities which governed, not in the 1950's when your father was imprisoned, but in the 1970's and 1980's? The folder I have in my hands is not your file, and I do not have any secret documents. I have your electoral flyer, as you can see, which contains the following sentence: Only 1981 brought hope of change, which raised the spirits of Stanislaw Tyminski, who then decided to come to Poland. The system did not allow movement then, and this was enforced by a particularly brutal means. In the defense of obsolete structures, the system announced martial law, closing borders to escaping Poles or Poles coming from abroad. I know a great many people who nevertheless were able to come to Poland from abroad. Can you make a statement on this?

[Tyminski] Of course. Ladies and gentlemen, for me the communist system, which I call a totalitarian system, has never ended. It is still in force. The point is not just for me to be able to say what I think, it is also being able to put it into action. So far, this is not possible. Since the end of war the same system has been in existence; for example, the same system of taxes exists which makes it impossible for people to earn. [passage indistinct] I said before and I say again: I do not want martial law to ever happen again. That is why I am a candidate in these elections. I want to win so that there will be no martial law again.

[Misiak] Elzbieta Misiak from TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. You are complaining that journalists are against you, that they are destroying you. I must say, this sounds rather strange for a man who says he knows the West very well. Such a statement in the West would mean the end of a political career. Let us assume that journalists are against you. Why then are you not using the opportunity to show yourself and your views in programs such as "Interpelacje" [current affairs feature on television] from which you excused yourself on a ridiculous pretext. Why do you not want to take advantage of the television

air time which Lech Walesa gave you? If I thought someone was lying about me, I would appear at every opportunity.

[Tyminski] Madam, I did not say journalists were destroying me. I said that they lied. That is a great difference. I have said that silence is the worst, so there is no silence. I am happy with the results. It is the result that counts, as I said in my last news conference. As regards "Interpelacje", I found out at 1730 on the day from the television director that there was no "Interpelacje," even though I wanted to appear. I was at the headquarters, I phoned, I asked if I could appear. It was late, but there was still time, but it was impossible. As it happened, it worked out better—everyone sees the news conference.[passage omitted]

[Grzeskiewicz] Marek Grzeskiewicz of GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA. My question to Mr. Walesa is as follows: You once announced enormous acceleration of the pace of reform. You are not the first man in history to say this. You said you would have the support of 70 percent of the electorate. Now that we know that this support is smaller, will you slow down?

[Walesa] Acceleration according to me has different meanings in different professions and different fields. This very debate here shows how essential this acceleration is. Today we are dealing with a case that is six months late. The examples show that we have a counter-revolution. Someone is taking advantage of the situation to stop Polish reforms. The reforms are extremely difficult. After 45 years of the old system—we have only just toppled communism—today we are trying to build a system of the rule of the law, a system for which we are not prepared, which we are unable to build. Individuals are attempting to take advantage of this to thwart these victories. I think that Poles know what is going on and that they will give a good assessment of all these actions. [passage omitted]

[Kucharski] Tadeusz Kucharski from TIME LIFE news service. Mr. Tyminski, you write that you would like to arm the Polish Army with 100 nuclear warheads, medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads of one megatonne, and in this way assure the possibility for peaceful work and development. I would like to ask you who you want to protect our labor against with these megatonnes? You write a lot about military technology. Considering that you have never served in the Army, is your knowledge of military affairs taken merely from writings of Mao Zedong and Che Guevara whom you quote in your book?

[Tyminski] Thank you for your question. I would like to say that this chapter is an example. Our Army is armed for a civil war, not for an external war to protect the frontiers. The kind of weapons you mention would be most practical for Poland, but Poland cannot afford it and the international situation does not require it at the moment. I do not sense an external threat for a few years as regards our borders. However, I do sense an economic threat. In my book I wrote in detail about the threat of the economic war which is raging in the world. As regards the military terminology and the quotes, I got them from best U.S. schools, where the so-called marketing warfare course has been very popular for some years. I completed such a course 10 years ago in Canada. This was a course conducted by the most highly placed specialists from IBM and also by U.S. Army generals and colonels.

[Milewicz] Ewa Milewicz of GAZETA WYBORCZA. In accordance with the Polish Constitution, the president is the head of the Armed Forces. On page 220 of your book you say that the most efficient weapon for Poland would be nuclear missiles. In other places of your book you talk many times about the need for careful selection of a manager of an enterprise. I would like to ask you whether it is wise to entrust in a man, who nobody in Poland knows, who cannot mention any names in Poland, worthy people in Poland as his reference, to entrust him with an enterprise with nuclear weapons? Do you not think you are abusing something here? After all, you admit to some experimenting with drugs in the jungle. I think this is a bit like a jungle—you will be a president and have nuclear weapons and take drugs. I do not know that this will happen, but this could happen.

[Tyminski] What is your question?

[Milewicz] Do you think it is wise to entrust an enterprise with nuclear weapons, Poland, to a man who nobody knows?

[Tyminski] We do not have any nuclear missiles at the moment, and Poland cannot afford them. Even if it could afford them, I do not see any problem. All my life I have behaved as a responsible person, and I can provide proof of this.

[Milewicz] What proof?

[Tyminski] We are repeating our success, day after day, year after year.

[passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] I want to put a question to Mr. Tyminski: What is it that entitles you, at more than 40 years of age, and with only a certain degree of material wealth as your only achievement, to be so bold as to put forward your candidature for the office of president of the Polish Republic?

[Tyminski] [words indistinct] to take part in these elections.

[Reporter] Who? By whom?

[Moderator] Please do not interrupt.

[Tyminski] Let us say, by the Gdansk self-government....

[Reporter] Which one? Which self-government?

[Tyminski] Independent Self Governing Trade Union Solidarity. [laughter] Let us say by the Lodz deputy, who comes from the Walesa camp.

[Reporter] What is his name?

[Tyminski] I do not remember his name. [laughter] This is not important at the moment.

[Reporter] It is very important.

[Tyminski] I met him at the home of a lady deputy. He called me a black horse for the first time in this campaign. He asked for my cooperation. I said that I had already reached a decision. This was on 13 or 14 October. At the moment this entitles me to the office of president of a country where there is the support of several million Poles which I represent. As a symbol of their hope I will win these elections. [passage omitted]

[Czabanski] Krzysztof Czabanski of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Mr. Tyminski, you speak of the fact that you want to reject communism. You say, or rather you do not want to say, who invited you to take part in the presidential campaign. You do not want to reveal your supporters. We have information about certain members of your support group. Is this the only type—functionaries of the Security Service and of the former Polish United Workers Party—is this the only group to support you?

[Tyminski] Sir, I am not backed by a special group which invited me. I was not forced, like other candidates, into these elections. It was my free and personal decision. At the moment I am supported by several million people.

As far as members of the staff or people who cooperate are concerned, there are people who are, simply, in a difficult position because, for economic reasons.... [changes thought] This is a situation like the one in which Jesus once found himself, when he had Judas who took pieces of silver. I know this, and I expect... I never thought it would be easy to make a start in Poland, especially in as difficult a situation as the one which now exists. [passage omitted]

[Bninska] Maria Bninska of Voice of America. Mr. Tyminski, the Polish visa section of the Consulate in Tripoli has confirmed the fact that you received a Polish visa in Tripoli at least three times. Why did you deny that you had ever been in Libya and did not travel to Poland via Libya? A second question: Two-thirds of the U.S. press carries perhaps false or perhaps real documents witnessing to the fact that you are an agent of the KGB. If this is untrue, will you take these papers to the courts? Thank you.

[Tyminski] I will go to court, if this is necessary, after the elections. At the moment I am very much taken up with winning these elections. What you said is a complete untruth. There are seven Stanislaw Tyminskis in the Warsaw telephone directory. Perhaps one of them travelled to Libya, I do not know. Perhaps you could check this? From me you have the reply that I have never been there, but I know many people from our country who travelled....

[Bninska] One more thing. In your Canadian passport, the Polish visa was stamped into your Canadian passport. The office worker who told me this said that at this time no one else with any other kind of passport, apart from contract workers, appeared in the Polish Embassy in Libya at this time.

[Tyminski] Perhaps you could give the name of this office worker?

[Bninska] Sir, a journalist does not reveal sources.

[Tyminski] Please do not repeat lies, okay? Please do not repeat lies. [passage omitted]

[Daniszewski, in English] John Daniszewski from ASSOCIATED PRESS. If the information being given out by the Interior Ministry that you were in Libya is not true, if the information about your visas is not true, are you willing to present documentary evidence that you were not there? And are you wiling to ask the government to investigate the matter. Why they are giving out this false information, if it is false? In other words, would you present your passport and ask them for their records? [passage omitted]

[Tyminski] I think that the sending of a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs will be sufficient to clarify this situation. I am not a vengeful person, and I do not feel that a court case is necessary at this moment. We have an electoral campaign. We have no court cases. [passage omitted]

[Rudzinski] Marek Rudzinski of SZTANDAR MLODYCH. Mr. Walesa, before the first round of the elections you very strongly attacked the government of Prime Minister Mazowiecki because it was not bringing the nomenklatura to account sufficiently precisely. Currently, your supporters are calling those who voted for Mr. Tyminski homo sovieticus. You are saying that we currently have a counterrevolution. Does this mean that if you win in these elections all those who voted for Mr. Tyminski will also fall under your category of communist and the opposition and that you will bring these people to account?

[Walesa] All those who broke the law, all those who set up companies—and there are a few of those near Mr. Tyminski—will be brought to account in exemplary fashion. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] This is a joint question to Mr. Walesa and Mr. Tyminski. Mr Walesa, I want to ask you to comment on the information published by the newspapers that Mr. Tyminski has some materials which would compromise you and that he means to make them public. My request to Mr. Tyminski is that he should reveal what these materials contain, where he got them, and whether he means to make them public on 6 December—on the last day—so that no reply can be made to them.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to say the following: I fought with the communists and there are no materials, otherwise the communists would certainly

have used them. There was a conflict with Mazowiecki and there are still no documents. So there must be really powerful forces—and here even the KGB is probably too weak to have any documents. [passage omitted]

[Tyminski] Just a minute. I would like to have the opportunity to reply to this matter. I have many materials in my briefcase and I think that (?it is a miracle)...[changes thought]. Many of these materials are private materials; some are so important that I think there is even a need for a private discussion with the candidate on the subject. So far this has not taken place. There was no such opportunity. I believe that a debate is very important as a summing up of this campaign. Normally a debate in almost all countries—in America, in Canada, in the United States [as heard]—is always the end element of a campaign. I would like it to be that here as well, so that we might both sum up this campaign during an hour in a common debate. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] I am sorry, but Mr. Tyminski did not answer my question. I asked you, sir, if these materials—and I understand that you do not wish to reveal at the moment who gave them to you and what they contain—but I ask if are you insisting that the debate be held on the last day of the campaign so that you might then throw them on the table without there being a chance for the Mr. Walesa to answer?

[Tyminski] I would not like to throw any private documents into this campaign. I think that this is not good for our country. I would like the tone of this campaign to be decently upheld, because the whole world is watching us and it is very important for the future.

[Walesa] There is an accusation and I demand that these documents be revealed. There is an accusation and these matters must be revealed at once. Otherwise, if I win the presidency, I will not allow you to leave the country until you have provided proof of all this. [laughter, applause]

[Tyminski] Mr. Walesa, perhaps we could speak privately, after....

[Walesa, interrupting] No. There are no such possibilities. You have accused, and I demand proof. You will not leave the country.

[Tyminski] Of course I will not leave. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] The last question please, for Mr. Walesa.

[Johnson] Peter Johnson from the Swedish paper GOTHEBORG POSTEN. Mr. Walesa, we know that Mr. Tyminski thinks that Poland ought to have nuclear weapons. Can you, as a person who received the Nobel Prize seven years ago, comment on this stance of your rival?

[Walesa] No, I do not really have anything to say. I would have to consult the doctors. [laughter]

[Moderator] A question for Mr. Tyminski.

[Reporter] The last question for Mr. Tyminski. Do you think that you have not completed 80 percent of your task in Poland, the task which was to ridicule the newly born Polish democracy? And to Mr. Walesa, do you think that Mr. Tyminski has fulfilled his task and can now get off the stage?

[Walesa] He will be a classic example of how difficult it is to build democracy, how mistakes are made and how human misery can be abused for one's dirty goals. [applause]

[Tyminski] I am very happy that I could show the whole world that in spite of difficulties, true democracy and a departure from a totalitarian government is possible in Poland. I do not regret a moment of my time, my efforts, or one dollar of my money, because everyday is of great significance to me. I hope that what I say will come true. I would like to make every word come true. Winning elections is not at stake here; real victory, the economic victory and the true independence of our country, is at stake. [noise from hall]

[Walesa] I would like to thank Mr. Tyminski, the way he is taking it, the way is being accused. That is not the way to see it. Poland is becoming truly democratic. Poland has real difficulties. Such examples have to be considered as classics for the Polish reforms. That is why, please, do not insult Mr. Tyminski. I also apologize if I have insulted you. Poland needs such a reflection. [applause]

[Moderator] Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you viewers. It has been agreed that on Tuesday [4 December] there will be a television program called "Difficult Questions" to be broadcast at 2100 [2000 GMT]. Regarding a television debate, according to the protocol I have here, the date is tomorrow [2 December], but Mr. Tyminski's staff is negating this. I cannot comment. Thank you very much; thank you to both candidates.

[Reporter] Is there going to be a debate tomorrow?

[Walesa] I will be there tomorrow, since it has been agreed and signed. I will be there, and I will be waiting.

Walesa Regrets Tyminski No-Show

LD0212193990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] We are going over to Studio Four of Polish television.

[Reporter] Welcome. As you can see, only Lech Walesa is in the studio. Stanislaw Tyminski has not arrived. His spokesman claims that the date of this debate was not agreed. How then are we to understand your presence in the studio?

[Walesa] I would like to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that regarding the decisions on our debate, the television will pronounce on them. I can only express surprise and

at the same time regret. After all, terribly difficult reforms are ahead of Poland; we must get to know the programs and discuss what we are to achieve jointly. That is why I came from Gdansk. I am always ready to come, to take this trouble so that you, ladies and gentlemen, can see what we want to do, how we want to do it, and how we want to get through this difficult period. That is why it is bad that such a meeting is not taking place, a meeting from which conclusions could be drawn for Polish reforms, for all of us and our place within the reforms. [passage omitted]

Walesa Postelection News Conference Reported

AU2911122990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Alicja Balinska report on interview with presidential candidate Lech Walesa; place and date not given: "We Are Fulfilling Our Common Duty"]

[Text] Lech Walesa's election staff, just like Walesa himself, is weighing its words in assessing the Polish presidential election. Lech Walesa decided to meet radio and television crews and journalists on Monday, 26 November, at 1200 hours, in Gdansk. Because there were still no official results, he refrained from making any statement, but tried to provide exhaustive replies to questions, expressing the hope that this lesson in democracy, with its "surprise," would not discourage anyone and that the journalists would continue to inform society about the events.

I know that what I am doing is my patriotic duty, said Walesa. Everyone who helps me by voting for me must know that we are all fulfilling a duty to Poland. Neither I nor my voters are going to derive much fun from this. We will do everything to make our country look better. It is not a favor for me or for those who have committed themselves. Everyone wants to live better in Poland and have more, and we have to do this. I said this throughout the election campaign.

[Balinska] Will you win the second round?

[Walesa] I have to consider what is good for Poland. If Mr. Tyminski is so rich, he should buy out Poland's debts. What can one say? Six months ago I warned that unless we recoup the losses, a third force might appear and finish us all off. Lately I have been trying to recoup the losses and if I had not done so, I would have been in an even worse position today. I am not saying that the government has done a bad job, but it was badly geared to society. The elections have shown I was right. Nothing has happened yet, but we will draw conclusions from this.

[Balinska] What place is there for "Solidarity" right now?

[Walesa] I ran in the election so that I could strengthen "Solidarity," but as a reform movement. As a reform movement, "Solidarity" has become out of breath and lost its leadership ability. Everyone began pulling in different directions, the government one way and the Citizens Parliamentary Club another way, and there was no rapid response to today's challenge. I am trying to patch everything up, but I am actually doing it, while Tadeusz Mazowiecki is only talking about it. I think I will succeed. However, it must be made clear that my purpose is not to restrict democracy, but to expand it.

When I started my presidential campaign, I said I will have to do this and that. I knew the reforms would not be smooth, so I tried to find a place from where I could promote our wonderful ideals as well as possible.

[Balinska] After what we have experienced, is it still worth accelerating the parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] Yes and no. We must tidy things up, though acceleration may cause surprises just like it has done right now. We have been pursuing an accelerated course with mistakes, but it is a good thing that it has already happened, and it should serve as well. The parliamentary election rules might create a multitude of small political units, but whatever happens will be the result of the probable unity of these units, so nothing will surprise us.

Finally, Lech Walesa was asked to comment on Stanislaw Tyminski's radio remarsk whereby Walesa would lose in the second round.

"If Mr. Tyminski wants to become president of Poland, he will have to be a little more serious," replied Walesa.

Walesa, Tyminski Economic Program Reviewed

AU2911185190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 27 Nov 90 p I

['D.E.' report: "Two Candidates on the Economy"]

[Text] For Lech Walesa, a market economy based on private ownership is the only path to society's development, and this is the supreme objective to which he aspires. However, the practice so far does not seem right to him, therefore he suggests a series of changes especially as far as the privatization of state enterprises, the introduction of a new system of taxation, and the creation of financial institutions to support private enterprise are concerned. Only after market mechanisms have become stable should direct state intervention be restricted.

The privatization and independence of enterprises may be achieved in various ways, e.g. by selling or distributing production assets. Enterprises that were nationalized after the war should be restored to their rightful owners, Walesa maintains. At the same time, the institution of a state treasury, implementing the rights of owners of state assets, should be restored.

State banks are still a monopolistic cartel that must be broken, says Walesa. It is also necessary to reactivate

specialized financial institutions supporting the expansion of private enterprise such as mortgages, insurance services, credit guarantees, and pension funds. The barriers that hamper the influx of foreign capital for investing in Polish enterprises must be lifted as quickly as possible. A new system of taxation, the same for everyone, should consist mainly of a new income tax on firms, farms, and citizens; and a sales tax.

In agriculture it is necessary to introduce free market mechanisms too, but most of all it is necessary to rid them of the monopoly on the supply of production resources and on the procurement and processing of produce. Fiscal and credits policy must protect the Polish farmer against the effects of West European protectionism. Some types of crops should be subsidized for the time being. State and cooperative facilities must become independent. It is essential to remove the barriers to a free turnover of land and provide legal guarantees of land ownership.

As far as foreign trade is concerned, it should be subject to radical decentralization and privatization.

To this economic program one should add a few elements of social policy closely linked to economic practice. For example, Walesa thinks the labor market will be the chief catalyst for labor relations. But before this happens, the state must intervene in employment matters to make it easier for work forces to transfer to new jobs and gain new qualifications. The closure of bankrupt plants should be preceded by the creation of new jobs. Permanent unemployment must be nothing more than a concept. The state must rebuild the system of social security and health service infrastructure. In time, even these spheres should be decentralized and privatized.

The state should not be engaged in building houses. It should merely create the conditions for every citizen to be able to acquire the accommodation of his dreams.

According to Stanislaw Tyminski, the supreme development principle of the Polish economy is to adapt it to the world market. Most of all, the management system in state industrial plants must be reformed. In the past, these plants were forced to implement production plans imposed on them by the center. Now one should consider the type of production whose quality and standards conform to market requirements, at the same time as which there must be a demand for the products, says Tyminski.

This calls for a complete change in the way of thinking and a complete deployment of the national wealth, picking up all the trump cards we already hold. Not until we show what we are capable of achievement can we expect foreign help and capital. In order to achieve this state, it is essential to accord state and private enterprises equal treatment. The privatization of state enterprises should be a process whereby their employees should have the possibility to become joint share holders as a result of a free decision.

Inflation of the zloty will continue over the next few years. Prices will rise, but incomes must also rise to prevent an excessive impoverishment of society. The value of the zloty must equal the value of output.

The Polish countryside must maintain close links with Polish industry. There must be a close connection between the value of industrial output and the value of agricultural output. Just like in the case of industry, agriculture must have the right conditions for independent development before it can take part in the market game, otherwise we will lose sight of the most important problem—feeding the nation.

Finally, the question of taxes. Tyminski's economic program calls for a tax system that not only guarantees the equality of all economic units before the law, but is also clear and comprehensible to everyone. A single-page tax return every year will be the basis for paying tax. Outlay on health care, culture, and education must increase in line with the state budget.

As far as foreign debts are concerned, they should be examined in the light of the political game. Pushing Poland into spiraling debts for the purpose of later achieving specified goals by taking advantage of society's dissatisfaction was such a game. The country's present situation is the bill to be paid for playing it. Right now, demanding a full repayment of Poland's debts is downright immoral. Subjecting the national economy to the diktat of creditors will make a return to genuine independence impossible.

Walesa Speaks at Solidarity Committee Meeting

LD2911234290 Warsaw PAP in English 2258 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 29—Solidarity's National Committee held here today an extraordinary meeting convened a week ago due to strikes in mining and municipal transport.

The discussion, attended by Lech Walesa, also focused on the current sociopolitical situation after the first round of the presidential elections.

"Things are really serious. I am terrified that society is so dissatisfied. My words 'I do not want to be a president, I must be a president' proved to be true," Walesa said.

"It is necessary to calm public opinion. There is a plane of agreement and will of cooperation. I had to do certain things at once so that there is peace. And there it is," Walesa stressed.

"Tyminski's accident is a challenge by the old nomenklatura and people of 'that' Poland who surrounded him. This is a counterrevoluton. If he wins he will manage for half a year at the longest and then there will be something similar to a civil war. Tyminski neither has big money nor a staff. He cannot solve Polish problems. We must not make experiments on the nation," Walesa opined.

Solidarity's National Commission appealed to Solidarity members and fans to fully and firmly support Lech Walesa's candidature for the presidential office in the name of ideals of August 1980 and progress of democratic reforms in Poland. The meeting appealed to the union's links and members to actively and directly join the second round of the presidential election.

Michnik Backs Walesa, Views Election Results

AU3011131390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Adam Michnik]

[Text] The camp that we in the Alliance for Democracy (the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action and the Forum of the Democratic Right) supported—the Mazowiecki camp—has lost.

I want to take this opportunity to warmly thank everyone who was involved in backing Tadeusz Mazowiecki. I am convinced that they were defending a good cause. However, good and just causes can also be defeated. We feel that our ideas and arguments have not lost. It is always difficult for people and political camps to come to terms with defeat. In these situations, the truth is the only medicine.

My impression is that all of us, the people in this camp, lost the ability to gauge the mood in society. Stan Tyminski's success has to be an awakening for us—it is a good thing that it happened now and not later. We were unable to explain our arguments and convince people that our philosophy of change without violence and revenge, the evolutionary path and respect for the law, were right.

These elections saw the rejection of the government's policies, which—despite making numerous critical observations about it—we supported with complete conviction in the belief that they provided an opportunity to create a better Poland.

Our arguments turned out to be powerless in the face of the strong feelings that had been aroused by difficult living conditions.

Today, however, the stirring up of fierce quarrels and hunts for those who could be deemed responsible would be the worst that could happen. It has to be avoided.

We should realize that it was not only Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his camp that lost. A specific program for reform and building a democratic state also lost. Rational argument lost in the clash with aggressive rhetoric and the belief in miracles.

Meanwhile, there will be no miracle. On the other hand, a misfortune may occur. In a few months time everyone will realize that we were right when we said that difficult times lie ahead of us and it will become apparent what these extravagant promises that everyone can get rich quick are worth.

The process of reforming state and economic institutions is threatened. Poland faces the prospect of chaos and collapse.

We are not retracting any of the criticism that we have made of Lech Walesa. We continue to believe that his policy of the "war at the top" and "acceleration" has split the "Solidarity" camp, confused public opinion, and has had catastrophic consequences. However, today he is the only candidate who merits consideration.

Walesa's victory will entail a great risk for Poland; Tyminski's victory would without doubt completely discredit our country. The reform of Poland would then be condemned to defeat that would be as grave in its consequences as the defeat of the ideas of the great Sejm and the Third of May Constitution.

So, what should be done now? We have to think about saving what can still be saved. We have to speak the language of responsibility for the state, as we did during the election campaign. We cannot follow the example of those who are pigheaded and driven by personal ambition. That is why it has to be clearly stated that people in the Mazowiecki camp will help any government in realizing Poland's interests.

The parliamentary elections lie ahead of us. We should respond to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's appeal and turn the campaign committees into structures belonging to the Alliance for Democracy.

Although the camp was defeated on this occasion, thanks to the efforts of thousands of people, it has become a real political force, and tomorrow it may triumph in the parliamentary elections.

Walesa, Mazowiecki Groups Hold Meetings

LD0212114490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] The Polish political revival means that even on Sunday there is no breathing space from important matters. Two meetings are taking place today in Warsaw that should be of interest to you. The National Citizens Committee [KKO] is holding deliberations at an extraordinary meeting which started just under an hour ago. After electing the co-chairmen of the meeting and accepting of the agenda, the meeting began an analysis of the situation in the republic before the second round of the presidential elections.

The participants intend to pass at this extraordinary meeting an appeal for support of the candidature of Lech Walesa for president of the republic. The draft text includes the following passage: The fatherland is in need; let us leave disputes until later, let us not plump for the unknown, let us all vote for Lech Walesa.

Everything indicates that Lech Walesa will be a guest of the KKO in the afternoon. An open letter from the KKO is also to be sent to the leaders of the Citizens Movement

Democratic Action [ROAD] and the propaganda apparatus [as heard] of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Parallel to this, also just under an hour ago and with the participation of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a meeting organized by the national electoral staff of Tadeusz Mazowiecki commenced in the auditorium maximum of Warsaw University. Representatives of the voivodship electoral staffs, members of the ROAD and the Democratic Right Forum are taking part. Aleksander Hall, a member of the electoral staff of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, with whom I spoke a few minutes ago, said that this meeting is to serve the continued functioning of the staff, make an evaluation of its activity so far, and also look into the question of what should be done from now on, before the second round of the presidential elections.

Mazowiecki Supporters Urge Votes for Walesa

LD0212162290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1501 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] The founding council of the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] has issued a statement asserting that it is not changing its view that the best candidate for president is Tadeusz Mazowiecki. However, by vitue of the danger that a man whose past and political associations are unknown could become president, an appeal has been made that supporters Mazowiecki vote for Walesa in the second round. ROAD does not, however, in this way express support for the policy of Walesa and his supporters, only fulfills its civic obligation to Poland in the face of danger.

Mazowiecki Heads New 'Democratic Union' Group

LD0212161290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1501 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in the course of a meeting with his electoral committee, today appealed for its transformation into the Committee for the Union of Polish Democracy (UPD). This would favor a political formation that would gain supporters in parliamentary elections, and would remain a key component in the Polish political scene.

Representatives of the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD], the Democratic Right Forum [FPD], and the electoral committee of Tadeusz Mazowiecki have created the Democratic Union [Unia Demokratyozna—UD]. Tadeusz Mazowiecki stands at its head by acclamation.

Tyminski Responds to Reporters' Questions 27 Nov

AU3011214490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 90 pp 1,2

[Report on news conference by presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski in Warsaw on 27 November]

[Text] "Concord is our motto"—Stanislaw Tyminski repeated this slogan of his presidential campaign several times at a news conference at the "Interpress" Center. Replying to questions from an exceptionally large number of journalists, he said about the Mazowiecki government:

"I am not surprised that the cabinet has resigned, just as I had expected from the very beginning a decision by Mazowiecki's staff to support Lech Walesa. After all, despite the differences, the people are still the same. Neither do I feel the need to apologize to the prime minister for my criticism of him. Under these particular circumstances, I was right. The economic damage caused by Balcerowicz's policies over one and a half years is reckoned to be 40 percent. The situation today is worse than before martial law. Poland's sovereignty is in serious danger, and the country needs to be rescued."

About his trips to Poland via Libya and his psychological illness and epilepsy: "It is all lies. Where do you get this nonsense from? Please tell me what paper you work for. This slander campaign by my opposition is disgracing the entire country and is reminiscent of the 1950's. I do not have a moment's peace to talk about the future. If anyone from Walesa's staff tells me they have evidence against me, I will reply that I also have information but do not wish to publicize it because the country would suffer."

About the illicit copying of television programs in Peru: "A few local cinemas brought charges against me several years ago. I won the case. I can provide the Peruvian Supreme Court's verdict. Apparently an appeal has been filed, but I do not know the results yet."

About his own business: "I have a stable firm in Peru which employs 45 people and has been supplying work and income for nine years. My wife has almost 100 percent of the shares in it. In Canada there is the 'Trans-Action' enterprise whose turnover last year was over $5 million. I have 67 percent of the shares in it. My personal income from this firm is over $500,000 a year. In September I paid a 24-hour visit to Moscow in order to sign a $50,000 deal with 'Khimavtomatika,' with whom we have been cooperating for a long time."

About future domestic and foreign policy: "I hope I will win people's trust. Several million people in Poland already support me. I do not have an axe, and I would like the change in government to proceed smoothly. I will choose the prime minister very carefully. I have seen terrible poverty in Peru, and it is the same here. I want to help the weakest.

"Japan is the only country in the West to have too much money in the banks, and it is seeking new markets. Even in the United States they are encouraging the Japanese to invest. It should be the same in Poland. In one year it is possible to build a modern factory that will provide work and export its products.

"As far as the USSR is concerned, we hear about what is happening there. There is a food shortage, yet we have a surplus. We must aim for trade relations, negotiate, and exchange our meat and vegetables for oil and gas. Our diplomatic representations should take care of this. Generally, as far as world trade, the point is not just joint ventures, but normal contracts extending over several years. We need political stabilization to make important foreign capital want to invest here. It is not true that I want to pass on to the Poles the simplified dreams of America. Young Americans dream of the same thing—to earn money, work, and live well. Things in Poland could be just like they are in the West. Then young people will not leave Poland."

About "Solidarity" and martial law: "'Solidarity' was a movement of great glory. I wanted to join it but was unable to reach Poland. It is no longer what it used to be. This united front is not united any more. In any case, many 'Solidarity' members voted for me. Everyone should understand how much General Jaruzelski did to rescue our country from the danger. However, I do not know enough to be able to assess what happened on 13 December. The hand that has been causing us harm for years is our very own hand. Martial law was a misfortune for the country, and I hope it will never again be necessary to make such a decision."

About what he will do if he loses: "I have had many offers, but I do not foresee forming any party before the Sejm elections. I will probably give up politics, but even if I do lose my home remains here in Poland. I will not leave the country. If Walesa and his family want to leave Poland if I win, that is his personal decision."

Presidential Candidate Tyminski on Economic Reform

AU3011100590 Vienna KURIER in German 30 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski by Gabor Nemes in Warsaw; date not given: "Tyminski: 'Poland Must Roll Up Its Sleeves Now!'"]

[Text] [Nemes] You rarely talk about politics, but frequently about the economy. Why?

[Tyminski] Because I am not a political, but an economic candidate.

[Nemes] Do you not have any opinion on political questions, which are so important in Poland?

[Tyminski] The country is in a tragic crisis. The government policy has led to an unnecessary 40-percent decline in the economy this year. If the government had not done anything at all during its entire term, we would be better off now. My aspirations are of an economic nature: pushing up one's sleeves and doing everything to improve the situation. Poland already has 186 political parties—it does not need any other politician on top."

[Nemes] Is there actually a politician with whom you could work together? Why does one not see anybody near you?

[Tyminski] I am a candidate for the president's office. One can vote for only one man in this respect.

[Nemes] Do you want to rule exclusively on your own?

[Tyminski] This will be seen after the elections.

[Nemes] Which economic policy do you propose?

[Tyminski] A growth plan that is worthy of our people's traditions. Thousands of my fellow-citizens who emigrated achieve a secure standard in America after an average of three years and can freely develop their skills—I want to create such conditions for development in Poland which they have been lacking here for 45 years. Therefore, I want free parliamentary elections so as to change the tax system. Conditions are still the same as in Stalin's time: Success, personal income, even the acquisition of money by the enterprises are punished. All income above the norm, all profits are taken by the government in Warsaw.

[Nemes] And apart from taxes?

[Tyminski] This is the most important issue.

[Nemes] However, you promised to catch up with the West immediately. How?

[Tyminski] Above all, we have to tell the truth about our economic situation. And then I want to see the first tangible results—smaller ones at first, but then results that point upward.

Tyminski Attends Peasant Youth Meeting 2 Dec

LD0212233990 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—Independent candidate for the office of president Stanislaw Tyminski took part here today in a meeting marking the 10th anniversary of the revival of the Peasant Youth Union (ZMW) which has presently 170 thousand members.

Speaking about problems in the Polish agriculture Tyminski stated in part:

The major problem today is the dollar exchange rate which is artificially lowered. If it goes up we will sell lorries, and not baskets, of our eggs, both to the West and to the East. The Soviet Union has been promised American and Canadian wheat and corn but we may sell them vegetables without which they will be unable to survive winter. The point is in extending the democracy of money which means for me an independence of our country, because I care about a genuine freedom.

Summing up the decade of the union its leader Jan Bury said that that period cannot be assessed univocally as

those were the years of internal struggle and disputes for which the organization often paid a painful price.

ZMW is an independent organization but it is close to the Polish Peasant Party, he added.

Mlynarski Analyzes Tyminski Election Support

AU2911195390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Jacek Mlynarski report: "Tyminski—A Latent Longing"]

[Text] He appeared in the firmament of Polish political life like a comet. No one knows exactly who he is and who he represents. Nevertheless, he managed to win the hearts of a large part of the electorate. It is worth considering the reasons for the surprisingly high degree of popularity that he has enjoyed. Let us try to establish who was inclined to vote for this unknown savior of the republic and for what reasons, by proceeding from the assumption that that truly remarkable phenomenon is not as much Mr. Tyminski himself as that part of the electorate that voted for him. The figures given below are entirely based on the results of an opinion poll of a random sample of the adult population of Poland that was conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research last Saturday and Sunday.

Of the 26 percent who said that they intended to put an "x" next to the fifth name on the list of candidates on 25 November, one-third gave as their reason the fact that he is someone independent who is not involved in the political disputes that are currently in progress. Every third Tyminski voter said that he was their preferred candidate, because he had a good presidential program; one in eight believes that he can lead the country out of economic collapse; and one in ten thinks that he is experienced and has already accomplished a lot in life.

He also projects a good image of himself (this is based on the views of a representative sample of all of society) compared to his rival candidates. He is considered likable (27 percent) and in this respect he eclipses the competition (Walesa and Cimoszewicz get 19 percent, and Mazowiecki only gets 11 percent). In addition, he is considered the candidate who has the most business-like and concrete approach to issues (24 percent, whereas the prime minister obtained 20 percent). In addition, he is considered almost as convincing a leader as the leader of "Solidarity" (23 percent compared to 28 percent), but is considered much less unpredictable (two percent compared to Walesa's 36 percent). It is true that the largest group of respondents consider the "Solidarity" chairman to be the person that we need (29 percent), but Tyminski (22 percent) is just behind him and in front of the head of the present government (16 percent). What is more, the "independent candidate" is not considered to be someone who promises too much (barely seven percent felt that he did, compared to 53 percent in the case of Walesa), and he is not considered to be too sure of himself (only two percent said that he was, whereas 64 percent thought that Walesa was).

Stan Tyminski is most frequently indicated as the person who could lead the country out of the economic recession (30 percent) and combat unemployment (33 percent). When it comes to solving other pressing problems, such as improving the standard of living, improving the profitability of agricultural production, eliminating the nomenklatura, privatization, and becoming independent of the USSR, he is mentioned less often than Walesa, but more often than Mazowiecki. On the question of writing off Poland's debt, he scores as well as the prime minister.

In general, almost one in four of those polled by the Center for Public Opinion Research (24 percent) believe that the unknown millionaire from Peru and Canada will run the affairs of the country well if he is elected to the office of president of the Republic of Poland (the chairman of the Council of Ministers also received 24 percent and the "Solidarity" chairman received 31 percent.)

Who votes for the "independent" candidate? Most of them live in small towns (in towns with a population of up to 20,000 as many as 36 percent support him), but he is less popular in larger towns and the countryside. He has the least number of supporters in large towns, that is, towns with a population of over 500,000.

They are primarily young people (39 percent are under 24). The older a voter is, the less likely he is to support the millionaire "from outside." He is more popular with women than with men.

Tyminski supporters are mainly people with a rudimentary education (31 percent of those in this category support him). He is less popular among those who have completed high school or vocational schools, and least popular among those who have completed higher education. Most of his supporters are to be found among people employed in the retail trade and services sector (39 percent), unskilled workers (34 percent), and the fewest are to be found in the intelligentsia (17 percent). It is interesting that personal income is not a relevant factor. Of those polled who said that they would definitely vote, supporters of the candidate from across the ocean were mainly people who disapproved of the activities of "Solidarity" (41 percent expressing such disapproval intend to support Tyminski), are worried about the privatization of state enterprises (40 percent), do not support the Balcerowicz plan (33 percent), and believe that the government's policies will not enable Poland to emerge form the economic crisis (36 percent). However, it is surprising that as many as one half of Tyminski's supporters approve of the Mazowiecki government's activities.

Compared to society as whole, Tyminski's supporters are more likely to favor permitting abortion and to be opposed to the introduction of religious instruction in schools.

So, Stan Tyminski expresses the hopes of people who dislike "Solidarity," long for a welfare state, reject liberalism in the economy, but expect liberalism in the sphere of personal morality. It is difficult not to get the impression that Stan Tyminski embodies some latent social longing for a return to a system providing some form of overall social security or, to put it more bluntly, the return of a Polish United Workers Party "with a human face."

Tyminski Accused of Being 'Crypto-Communist'

LD0112223290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] We have just received a statement from the Political Council of the Center Accord [PC], which states that, I quote: Crypto-communist forces stand behind Stanislaw Tyminski: the former masters of the Polish People's Republic. This can be witnessed if nothing else then through the fact of the acceptance of martial law expressed by Stanislaw Tyminski.

The PC confirms its program associated with the presidency of Lech Walesa. We are for the construction of a market economy, we read in the statement, a strong feeling of local self-government, the creation of the economic bases for agriculture, an active employment policy and the creation of new places of work, respect for the role of trade unions and an effective system of social welfare provision.

Kwasniewski Examines Election Outcome

AU0212210190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 28 Nov 90 p 1

[Aleksander Kwasniewski commentary: "There Was Meant To Be An Acceleration, Instead There Is a Political Crisis"]

[Text] The acceleration concept, which was being advocated so vigorously, has been defeated.

It was meant to defuse mounting social dissatisfaction and produce a psychological breakthrough, and the triumphant election of Walesa to the presidency in the first round ("I will get 80 percent" is what Walesa said at the August celebrations to mark the 10th anniversary of "Solidarity") was to be the crowning point of the process. It was to finally close the period of real socialism and the observance of the "roundtable" agreements. The 39.96 of votes obtained by the "Solidarity" chairman was far too little to be a triumph.

"Acceleration" has taken us on a further political downward slide, and it is worth recalling that there were political forces that protested this kind of improvisation and the opportunistic treatment of the political timetable, that is, adjusting it to suit one's personal ambitions and calculations. The Social Democratic Party had proposed first holding a debate on the constitution, and then allowing the public to judge the provisions of the constitution by means of a referendum, which could have been combined with parliamentary elections. A new parliament, elected on the basis of a proportional representation electoral code, and, therefore, a parliament that would reflect the true arrangement of political forces in Poland, would have adopted the constitution and defined the role and place of the president. We would have then made a more conscious choice regarding the election of the president, and the government would have had enough time to complete the job that they had undertaken and they would not have had to empty their desks in a rush. It would have meant living together with President W. Jaruzelski a little longer, but in practice his presidency has been such that it has not heralded any problems of a serious kind, conflicts, or instability. This was demonstrated once again in the "Election Evening" television show, in which he came across as the calm winner.

Today, it is clear that far from being awaited by society, acceleration was only a contest or illusion for the elite of "Solidarity" politicians and essentially directed against common sense and a pragmatic, orderly, and thus effective reform of the state.

Sunday poured a bucket of cold over the heads of the politicians. It showed that they are to a large extent dreamers when it comes to ideas and amateurs when it comes to acting. What they desired was treated as if it were reality and the mood of society was treated as if it were an abstraction.

As quickly as possible, our democracy has to create conditions that would foster the development of politics and politicians who should not be charismatic leaders, but should simply be skilled in doing their job, which, apart from being more public and entailing more responsibility, is a job like any other. For this to happen, assistance has to be provided for the formation and development of political parties that are vital and have clear-cut rival programs instead of talking about the age of parties being over and about a future in which there will be social movements—eclectic, amorphous groupings which, depending on agreements that have been worked out among friends, can include both the right and the left, both supporters and opponents of abortion.

Mature European democracy was and continues to be the product of competition between party programs, not between symbols, persons, and ethoses, which is something that we are specialists in. The upcoming parliamentary elections will not be held on the basis of proportional representation, but according to a simple majority code, and that will not provide the stability that is the key issue; and we might elect a Sejm in which there are a hundred or even more voivodship and townships "Tyminskis." Instead of having a large number of parties that have definite social power bases and programs and a sensible idea of discipline, we will have a hundred deputies and groupings with vague intentions and support.

Developing democracy also means creating an independent-minded and active public opinion with the involvement of the mass media above all. Today, some media are still doing what they have been doing for years; the only difference is that they are now doing so for different masters. It is the same old story. The campaign waged against Tyminski in the final week before the election was the ticket that got him through to the second round. Paradoxically, those who excelled in it were the very same people who were disparaged using similar methods before the last elections. People have a surprisingly short memory! Yesterday, television backed the prime minister and today it is backing the "Solidarity" chairman. If I were Tyminski, I would not complain. It might be the key to success.

The election result has led the government to submit its resignation. Politically, the decision is understandable. A vote of less than 20 percent for the government can hardly be interpreted as anything other than an indication of public disapproval and a vote of no confidence. Just a few months ago, opinion polls and the views of the man in the street showed that Mazowiecki and his people were popular and respected and that there was confidence in their ability.

The government's radical economic program was not accompanied by efforts to foster extensive public support for it. It was believed that the applause that was forthcoming during the government's first few days in office would always be the same and that society's patience had not been exhausted.

The trick that the government failed to pull off was that of ensuring public support for unpopular reforms that were burdensome for the majority. That is not easy. In many countries, dictators have more success with radical economic programs than democrats. That was the case with, for example, South Korea and Chile. However, was the government's defeat inevitable?

Speaking on television Monday, the Senate marshal, Professor Stelmachowski, a true social democrat, identified excessive dogmatism in the implementation of economic and fiscal policy and a doctrinaire dislike of state intervention as causes. He was right.

Thus, either adjustments should have been made, even if the price to be paid would have been a slowing down of certain processes, or the provisions should have been rigorously implemented and a determined effort should have been made to win public support. Neither was done.

No serious effort was made to create a political and parliamentary power base for this government.

The "roundtable" and the "roundtable" agreements, which were the cornerstone of coalition coexistence, and the support of a significant section of society, were considered to have been to quickly exhausted and no longer relevant. Then, to satisfy the radicals in the government's camp, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] ministers were dropped. This was followed by the conflict with the Polish Peasant Party. There was no genuine coalition. Divisions became deeper and deeper, there was hostility within the "Solidarity" camp, and the government and prime minister became increasingly isolated.

It was believed that "there is only one right program," without taking account of the fact that it does not take long for people's faith to evaporate.

It is an illusion to believe that the Balcerowicz program can be continued with after the elections without any changes.

In their statements, both Tyminski and Walesa have promised things that the Balcerowicz program does not and cannot contain. If they want to win in the second round, each of the candidates will have to question or distance themselves from Balcerowicz, and sooner or later the bill from the electorate will have to be settled. People will issue reminders.

Poland faces an economic unknown along with the danger of social unrest. In light of this, who knows whether shortly it will not become necessary to discuss and conclude a new social contract.

The elections have provided confirmation of numerous disturbing trends.

A significant section of Polish society remains apathetic. A turnout of 60 percent means that 40 percent did not participate in free and democratic elections.

Frustration and discontent is increasingly being directed at the results of "Solidarity" government and not just at the old system—and not just at the top, in Warsaw, but also in the garrulous and rather incompetent local councils.

Attempts to explain the election results in terms of society's lack of maturity and a faith in miracles lack seriousness and are disingenuous when they are heard coming from certain people's lips.

Why is that so? In June 1989, when society voted against the PZPR, it was wise, astute, responsible, patriotic, and generally loved, and today, when, with a very similar turnout, it voted for Tyminski and against "Solidarity," it is immature, irresponsible, even mentally ill, as someone even said?

We have no democratic experience in Poland, and it will be a long time before we acquire that experience. What we have to do is to aid this process and not take offense at how people have behaved.

If we are inclined to think in terms of symbols and myths, presidential or parliamentary election campaigning cannot last a month or several weeks, it cannot lack an exchange of views (who did not want to take part

in a televised debate and what benefits did that bring?), because then it becomes confined solely to symbols and general impressions.

However, that is the way that someone organized things in Poland.

We should not deceive each other by being one-sided in burdening socialism and the left with the sole responsibility for the way in which society feels. A partiality to miraculous solutions and a lack of common sense is a historical legacy to which everyone has contributed something. In our Catholic country, to assert that the PZPR was the main force that fostered people's belief in miracles is an overestimation of its role and influence.

Yet, not that long ago, some "Solidarity" leaders emphatically asserted that the overthrow of communism in Poland was a genuine miracle, that it would not have been possible without divine intervention and forgot the efforts of all the social forces that belonged to the opposition and the authorities at that time and how they brought about that "miracle."

Let us not panic; things are bad, but not hopeless!

The left and the Social Democratic Party have come out of the elections stronger. We are among the few who have reason to be pleased. Our candidate obtained more votes than we expected.

We have a significant social power base. Prospects for the parliamentary elections look good. There is a need for cooperation among all left wing forces as well as a need for a clear and competitive alternative in terms of program content and personalities. We are putting forward such an alternative not only in the interest of the left, but, first and foremost, in the interest of democracy, a modern economy, and Poland's future.

Commentary Says Elections Show Solidarity Weakening

AU0212170590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Dariusz Szymczycha commentary: "The Abandoned Man"]

[Text] Where two fight, a third wins, says an old Polish proverb. It sums up perfectly the result of this so-called, political acceleration.

The spilt in the "Solidarity" movement, a split decreed by its top echelons, was to have saved "Solidarity." Whether it will do so, is still to be seen. One thing has become clear, however. The "war at the top" has exposed "Solidarity's" weakness. The weakness of both its branches.

The Lech Walesa grouping, functioning with precision and mathematical calculation, has not swept to the much prophesied triumph.

When the election results became known, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's group, which had called for calm and tolerance, reacted hysterically like a betrayed husband. Some of Mazowiecki's political friends have even taken offense at the voters. This is very undiplomatic behavior.

How can you woo voters in the future, if you feel insulted by them today? How can you gain their votes, if you lecture them about all their faults? Democracy does not give you a license to do this.

Elections are something akin to the way one dates a girl. One has to impress her, attract her, and later, win the election. Mazowiecki's people, on the other hand, instead of trying to woo the electorate in the elections, are breaking-off contacts, burning bridges, but nevertheless, maintaining their election committees.

One thing is encouraging: namely, that time heals everything and that the so-called, Catholic secular-left will not become a sectarian movement and will come to realize that by itself it will not defeat the political right.

Siwiec Believes 'Left Still Political Force'

AU0212165890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Marek Siwiec untitled commentary]

[Text] We shall talk about these elections for a long time to come. Sunday, ironically, did not produce a president. A more important issue was decided, however. The Poles sketched out a new map of various political orientations in their first, their very own, though clumsy, elections. These elections destroyed many political myths. As of From 25 November, it will be difficult for some people to continue to pretend that they are great. It will also be difficult to cast curses on all those people whom they consider inconvenient. As in everyday life, there are the winners and the losers. These elections should teach us to be more humble toward our society. History shows that arrogance and hollow confidence leads to certain defeat. If people pronounced society sufficiently wise to topple the communists, it must now accept its successive choices.

What about the implications for the left and the Social Democratic Party? Cimoszewicz and the whole left have scored a success. A greater success than some people were forecasting. We have shown that the left is a force that is beginning to find its feet in the new democratic realities, a force that is looking forwards not backwards. It is not some dying remnant left behind by the "commies," but young faces, that attracted the voters. The Social Democratic Party, by backing Cimoszewicz, supported realism, courage, and imagination. It was able to attract many people who also want to implement a political vision that incorporates principles dear to the left. It is true that not everyone decided to back them, but this is only the beginning of a new road. The elections—like every other single act—do not create a new reality. They create the conditions in which the

reality can be shaped. We shall also take part in this process. The result of last Sunday's election gives us this right.

Navy Hospital Ship Ready To Sail to Persian Gulf

LD3011023690 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 29—Polish Navy hospital ship "Wodnik" is now ready for service in the Persian Gulf, and is now waiting in Gdynia Oksywie harbor for the order to sail.

All armaments were removed from the ship in accordance with its specifically nonmilitary role as a sanitary evacuation hospital, and it was refitted with two large operating rooms. As well, the international sign of a red cross on a white field was painted on the vessel. On board will be six surgeons, four surgey-room assistants, and 4 paramedics.

The "Wodnik" also had a landing pad for helicopters.

Mackiewicz Agrees on Oil Delivery From USSR

LD0112224590 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 1—Polish Minister of Internal Market Aleksandr Mackiewicz paid a visit to Moscow and Kazan between November 27 and 30.

The Polish minister held talks at the Soviet Ministry of Market, at the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Russian Federative Republic and with vice-prime minister of Tatarstan. The sides agreed they were interested in cooperation between private and cooperative trade enterprises as well as in establishing joint ventures for trade and services.

The sides also discussed possibilities of a barter exchange, namely oil and oil products from Tatarstan in exchange for food and industrial goods from Poland.

Border Talks With Czechoslovakia Deadlocked

LD3011234690 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, Nov. 30—Talks with Poland ground to a deadlock over several issues and if no progress is made we cannot speak about a radical change of conditions providing for mutual tourist visits, said Vaclav Klaus during a press conference of the Democratic Forum here today.

Klaus has been for some time the chairman of the Democratic Forum which is the most influential political force in Czechoslovakia and he is also the minister of finance in the Federal Government.

Foreign Minister Addresses UN Security Council

AU3011154590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1404 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—At a recent session of the Security Council, which he termed "historic", the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said, among other things:

The persistence of the present situation in the gulf is such as may lead to new dangers, even to a catastrophe in the area, with unpredictable effects for international peace and security, for the world economy. It is absolutely sure that maintaining the situation as it is in that region has serious consequences on the whole international community. Many countries, Romania included, have faced enormous economic and social difficulties since economic sanctions were resolved against Iraq. As a matter of fact, the world's energy stability is at stake.

Such a course of events impairs the credibility of the United Nations Organization, of its Security Council particularly. The Council must prove apt to enforce and ensure the observance of its own resolutions. At the same time, the Council must prove its real efficiency as a body designed for the peaceful settlement of controversial issues.

As members of the Council, we found ourselves before a delicate choice. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the Council's resolutions are to be fully observed and implemented. On the other hand, every chance of reaching a political settlement should be explored and capitalized.

We had today to make a difficult decision and yet we made it, convinced that the sovereign and independent existence of our nation must pay its tribute to international peace. It is this very duty that prompted our stance in the council today.

Consequently, we had to reach the logical conclusion that it is imperative that the Council should resort to all the means available, including the provisions of Chapter VII of the [UN] Charter concerning acts of threat to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

We do express our hopes that the resolution we have just adopted and the statements made here will be viewed with a sense of responsibility by all those concerned, from whom one expects political wisdom. It is never too late to listen to reason and choose a dignified course of action apt to fully restore peace and the order of the law, in keeping with the UN Charter. We believe that can and must be restored in the region and that, to this effect, we must use all our persuasive strength and resort to every means we have for a peaceful settlement.

We hope that this historic session of the Council of Security will serve its purpose and will be one more landmark in our joint effort to promote a peaceful and rational world order based on the universal juridical values and standards characteristic for the United Nations organization.

Meets UN's Perez, Pickering

AU3011192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—On Thursday, November 29, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase, had an interview with the UN Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The gulf situation was mainly discussed on the occasion.

The secretary-general emphasized that his main concern was the finding of a peaceful and just solution to the gulf situation and within the UN Charter's limits, to contribute to finding out such a solution.

The Romanian minister informed his collocutor about the Romanian Government's stand on the gulf crisis, emphasizing the necessity of exploring all the possibilities offered by the UN Charter for a peaceful settlement. Referring to the important role incumbent on the United Nations to this end, Mr. Nastase appreciated the efforts the UN Secretary-General had made until now and expressed Romania's wish to back all his new initiatives meant to avoid recourse to force and leave room for a political solution.

The interview also occasioned an exchange of opinions on the possibilities of intensifying Romania's participation in United Nations activities. The Romanian minister renewed the invitation that Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar pay an official visit to Romania.

The same day, Mr. Adrian Nastase met with Mr. Thomas Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, who ensures the chairmanship of the Security Council in November.

Questions were tackled relating to the preparations for the session of the Security Council at foreign ministers' level due the same afternoon, and to the working out of a resolution to be supported by most of the members of the Council. The American ambassador reiterated the appreciation enjoyed within the U.S. Administration by Romania's stand on the gulf crisis.

The two collocutors noted with satisfaction the positive elements characterising the Romanian-U.S. relations of late and discussed the possibilities and appropriate means of building up mutual confidence so that those relations return to a normal course.

Comments Upon Return

AU0212195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/12/1990—Returned to Bucharest after a visit to the U.S.A. where he took part in the Security Council Ministerial Meeting on the gulf

situation, Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, made a statement at Otopeni Airport showing inter alia: The visit was highly important for us because we had to cast our vote at the Security Council thus showing our responsibility for a serious international issue. I think we did it decently as our position accords with the principles we have chosen. It was also important to have been able to establish better, direct contacts with the U.S. Administration. We had a highly substantial interview at the U.S. State Department, with Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, undersecretary of state, which, in my opinion, opens a new chapter to bilateral relations.

Roman Meets German Officials in Bonn 29 Nov

AU3011122790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1142 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bonn, ROMPRES 30/11/1990—On the last day of his visit to Germany (November 29), Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met with Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, member of the Bundestag.

The Romanian premier had breakfast with Mr. Johannes Rau, minister-president of the North Rhine-Westphalia Land, with whom he held a talk.

In Stuttgart Premier Roman met with Dr. Lothar Spaeth, minister-president of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land, who highly appreciated the Romanian revolution and expressed his confidence in the possibilities of cooperation with Romania, his wish to contribute to the surmounting of the difficulties confronting Romania.

"Your words are very kind and warm," the Romanian prime minister said, making reference to the brotherly help that land's population offered Romania after the revolution. He also underscored the fact that the presence in Romania of the population of German origin was something in the absence of which the Romanian nation would be poorer. After mentioning that no effort should be spared to favour the Germans to remain in Romania, Petre Roman expressed his hope that the talks with the minister-president of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land would lead to a significant presence in Romania of that land's enterprises and citizens.

In the afternoon the Romanian premier had talks with the chairman of the Transylvanian Saxons' Association, Dankwart Reissenberger, with the chairman of the Banat Swabians' Association, Jakob Laub, and with the chairman of the Satu Mare Swabians' Association, Helmut Berner.

During the talks Prime Minister Roman expressed his availability to support the German-origin community in Romania. Premier Roman pleaded for the Romania-born Germans to strengthen their ties with the country, an idea also taken over by Helmut Berner.

Mr. Petre Roman informed his collocutors and asked for support in connection with the action convened with Minister-President Lothar Spaeth namely the setting up of small and medium-sized enterprises in Banat attended both by the Germans in that area and by the citizens of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land.

Cultural Agreement Signed With Germany

AU3011121990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1222 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—As we announced before, Romanian Culture Minister Andrei Plesu and secretary of state Hans Werner Lautenschlager signed an agreement in Bonn on the operation of two culture institutes—German and Romanian—which are to open soon in Dusseldorf and Bucharest.

On his return home, Minister Andrei Plesu characterized that agreement as "the first stage of an extremely polychrome and promising collaboration project."

Moldova Supreme Soviet Delegate Pays Visit

Meets With Parliamentarians

AU3011200390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The speakers of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Alexandru Birladeanu and Mr. Dan Martian, met Friday [30 November] with Mr. Vasile Nedelciu, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Policy Commission of the Republic of Moldova, now on a visit in Romania. During the dialogue, the conclusion was reached that inter-parliamentary relations should be intensified for a better mutual knowledge of the concerns and activity of the legislative for in Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

Confers With Iliescu

AU3011200490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received at Cotroceni Palace Vasile Nedelciuc, chairman of the Commission for Foreign Relations of the Republic of Moldova's Supreme Soviet, on a visit in Romania at the invitation of Romania's Parliament. After having analyzed the concrete situation in Soviet Moldova the two parties reviewed the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman participated in the interview.

Moldova People's Front Issues Appeal on 2 Dec

AU0212195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/12/1990—Mr. Anatol Selaru, vice-chairman of the People's Front of Moldova, addressed an appeal to the Romanian nation and the Romanian Parliament at Alba Iulia, in which he says that, after 50 years of foreign occupation, the Romanian nation in Bessarabia claims again its legitimate right to national and statal independence of which it was deprived following the application of the August 23, 1939 Soviet-Nazi treaty . This right of ours is now rejected by the leading forces of the imperial centre which resort to the most knavish means to compel the parliament of Moldova to sign the new unional treaty, which would sanction the June 28, 1940 occupation act.

Since 1940 Moscow has given us enough proofs of "maternal care" to entitle us to have now the right to say the whole world we did not and will not recognize it as a protecting mother ever, the appeal further shows.

We call on the entire Romanian nation to back our aspirations after liberty, the document urges. Our will is to regain independence and put an end to the Second World War which continues de facto owing to the still persisting consequences of the odious Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. The imperial forces threatening us now with a still heavier yoke as well as the Occident should remember that that pact was denounced even by the USSR at the deputies' congress in Moscow and by the parliament of Moldova, which means that the Romanian nation living eastward [of] the Prut has gained recognition of its right to decide by itself whether to remain or not in the sphere of influence of the USSR, the document underlines.

By virtue of the same historic and national right, we would like you to inform the international fora of our wish to live in freedom and independence.

Whatever the world powers' decision would be, we are determined rather to die than to further suffer slavery and dependence, the appeal shows in conclusion.

Iliescu Receives Turkish Chief of Staff

AU2911163190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1338 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—President Ion Iliescu and Army General Necip Torumtay, chief of Turkey's Armed Forces General Staff, had a meeting at the Cotroceni Palace on Thursday. During the meeting they outlined the new cooperation conditions between Romania and Turkey, taking into account the changes wrought in Romania after the December revolution.

Joint Japanese Economic Committee Meeting Held

AU3011155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The chairman for Japan of the Romanian-Japanese Joint Economic Committee, Zenji Umeda, called a working meeting with representatives of the companies members in the economic committee, with the SETOBE chairman Toshikuni Yahire (SETOBE: Japan's Organization for Promotion of Cooperation with Eastern Europe) for the Japanese side, and with members of the economic office of the Romanian embassy in Japan and Ambassador Mircea Mitran.

The Japanese side expressed its agreement to share in the effort for initiating as many concrete projects of mutual interest as possible, envisaging the retechnologisation and modernization of Romanian industrial units. The projects could then be given their final form at the next session of the Romanian-Japanese Joint Economic Committee in Bucharest early next year.

The Japanese companies stated their willingness to send to Romania, in the near future, delegations of private companies executives commissioned to establish, with the Romanian state, private enterprises and the authorities concerned, the concrete ways of implementing certain projects, either through direct capital investments or through joint production and trade ventures.

1 Dec National Day Festivities Held in Alba Iulia

100,000 Attend Celebrations

AU0112092790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0851 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—The Romanian people celebrates for the first time in its history the first of December as its National Day. It is the day when in 1918 the unitary national state was completed, through the union for ever of Transylvania with Romania. The act of Alba Iulia of 72 years ago was preceded by the decisions of union of the national assemblies in Kishinev and Cernauti the same year.

At the time of our broadcasting the National Day celebration has started in the festively adorned city of Alba Iulia. High Romanian officials lay wreaths at the Mihai the Brave monument in front of the Union Hall where the 1,228 delegates from all over Transylvania had decided the union of that historical Romanian province with the motherland.

Wreaths of flowers are laid by President Ion Iliescu, by Senate representatives, at head with Alexandru Birladeanu, and of the Chamber of Deputies, at head with speaker Dan Martian, by cabinet representatives at head with Prime Minister Petre Roman, in behalf of the

Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Interior, the Romanian Intelligence Service, of war veterans, parliamentary groups and the cults.

The wreaths from the high Romanian officials were laid to the statue of Mihai the Brave, the Romanian prince who accomplished in 1600 the first union of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. He thus became the symbol of all Romanians' will to keep their national independence and sovereignty. The monument by sculptor Oscar Han was unveiled in 1968.

After the wreath-laying ceremony, a battalion of honor paraded by.

A te deum is being now performed by his Beatitude Teoctist, patriarch of Romania, at the Union Cathedral in Alba Iulia.

The festivities are attended by over 100,000 people come to Alba Iulia from across the nation.

Iliescu Addresses Rally

AU0112194590 Bucahrest Domestic Service in Romanian 0837 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at the "solemn session of the Parliament" in Alba Iulia—live]

[Text] Honored audience, ladies and gentlemen, members of the legislative bodies, your holinesses high prelates and priests, fellow citizens, brothers: Today, within this solemn framework, here in Alba Iulia in the heart of our country, we are celebrating for the first time the day of 1 December as Romania's National Day. [applause]

The decision of Romania's newly elected Parliament to enact legislation on 1 December signifies a historical restoration. In this way, the unification of all Romanians within a single national and unitary state, became a fundamental action through which the Romanian nation became the subject of its own history. Nicolae Iorga [Romanian scholar, historian] described the act accomplished 72 years ago in Alba Iulia as the greatest event in the history of our people.

That year, when empires were collapsing and national states were being established, after broad democratic and representative assemblies proclaimed the unification of Bessarabia and then of Bukovina with the homeland, 1 December 1918 gloriously and eternally inscribed in our history—as well as in the history of Europe and of the whole world—the eternal resolution of the national assembly of the representatives of all Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, and Maramures, who proclaimed their unification together with the unification with Romanian of all territories inhabited by them.

The resolution, voted on by 1,228 representatives elected in the villages and towns of those territories which shook off the yoke of dual monarchy, was hailed enthusiastically by over 100,000 peasants, teachers, priests, workers, clerks, men, and women, adults, and young people who were present at the great rally which took place in this hearth of the Romanian soul. [cheers, chants]

Here, in this place, even now we feel overwhelmed by their voices, their will, their struggle, and their boundless love of homeland. Thus, let us bow to them, pay homage to them, and express our purest feelings of gratitude to all those who, throughout centuries, placed their lives and work at the foundation of this supreme ideal. The words uttered by Vasile Lucaciu [priest, former local politician] are significant for our time: A new world emerged from the great movement that comprised all nations. Justice defeats force. The will of nations replaces conquests. Dominators who do not rely on the will of nations are overthrown forever and the rule of justice rises from those ruins. Old establishments collapse and new establishments emerge, based on the right of each nation to live a national and free life together.

Viewed from the perspective of a dramatic past that this day sums up, and also from perspective of future prospects that this day generates, 1 December 1918 is a symbol of Romanian history. This is the reward for the will to freedom and unity which many generations expressed through their thoughts and actions. The union has been and will always be connected with Alba Iulia, the town that witnessed the martyrdom of Horia and Closca [18th century peoples' revolt leaders] and the victory of Mihai the Brave, who accomplished the first unification of the three Romanian countries. This town has been and will always be connected by the more than 800,000 Romanians who sacrificed their lives in the holy war waged for unification. [chants]

The unification of Alba Iulia impresses us even today, 72 years later, through its nature as a democratic and free civic action, through its nature as a unique and decisive solemn action—characteristics imprinted on this action by its creators. Unification also impresses us through the enthusiasm with which it was received in all areas inhabited by Romanians. The great union of 1918 is an overwhelming collective work. This action represents the eternal flame of the Romanian nation. There is no other moment in our history that can be compared with the national assembly in Alba Iulia. Then the nation itself, just like a river, flooded the old Roman fortress and sealed its destiny. Independence and national unity are and will always remain values which make our souls and hearts vibrate with the intensity of the soul and hearts of our forefathers. The enterprising spirit, work, devotion, and intelligence of our people are means through which we have established and must establish the place that we deserve among the nations of the world.

This incomparable historic day should represent for us the way in which all social and political forces cooperated at that time. They were clearly aware of the fact that they participate in an action which goes beyond private interests.

The representatives of various political parties—from the National Party to the Socialist Party, along with the peasants, workers, tradesmen, and intellectuals—have all understood that national unity is the supreme goal that cannot and should not be weighed against other considerations or interests.

As the representative of the Social Democratic Party, worker Iosif Ciumanta, said: When we adhere to the unity of all Romanians, we also want the possibility for the Romanian workers to develop, because we, the Romanian workers, feel united with the whole nation.

At the beginning of this century, the idea of state unity dominated the minds of all Romanians. Romanian modern culture was founded on broad cultural knowledge in this sense. The strong feelings of unity that originated from the depth of our history, the material and cultural ties that have been preserved throughout time between all provinces inhabited by Romanians, and the amazing unity of language, traditions, and customs throughout this country have formed the foundation on which the awareness of the Romanian people was grounded in the modern era.

Before it became a supreme fact 72 years ago, national unity thrived in the area of the cultural unity of our people and in the unity of moral, religious, artistic, and political values, which were created and spread throughout the Romanian lands. This fantastic unity of culture has preserved our national identity, our energy of action, and the wisdom of our thoughts; it has guided all our major actions aimed at national affirmation in the sense of the national principle. He who studies our modern history objectively will be amazed by the imperative consequence and character of the national idea. As Nicolae Iorga demonstrated—he himself an advocate of the great unity—the line of historic conduct of our people is part and parcel of the dominant national idea. When the time for liberation arrived, there was no need for special preparations, because, as Lucian Blaga [Romanian poet] said, these preparations had been going on for centuries.

This is why, beginning with the chroniclers and leading up to the Transylvanian School, from the 1848 figures up to the [word indistinct] movement and the generation that achieved Romania's unification, the idea of state unity gained scope and depth, thus becoming more and more a stringent political dimension. Unity became essential for the Romanian minds. Nicolae Titulescu said: Romania cannot be complete without Transylvania. [applause, chants] Transylvania is not only the heart of political Romania, look at the map: Transylvania is the heart of geographical Romania. [chants]

Thus, unity was an imperative internal requirement of our history. The longevity of this unity lies in the fact that—as Vasile Goldis, one of the soldiers of the movement for unification, said—justice is on our side. Furthermore, historic truth and the justice emerging from it were sealed in Alba Iulia for all centuries, as the president of the National Assembly of Alba Iulia, Gheorghe Pop (?Debatet) emphasized. The unification was a natural result of our modern development, but it was also a consequence of the new framework of the European civilization. The Romanians became organically part and parcel of this area of civilization. Unity was achieved in the context in which the national idea gained a victory over the imperial idea. The leaders of unification were aware of this change in the times. From then on, the affirmation of the national principle became a principle of order in history.

Our unification was, therefore, not a happy coincidence, but a logical consequence of the national order within the framework of which Europe was settling in the wake of World War I. Struggling to settle their existence within a unitary national framework, the Romanian people also recognized equal rights for all ethnic minorities. In a profoundly democratic and European spirit, the Alba Iulia National Assembly proclaimed these freedoms and equal rights for all ethnic minorities, as well as equal rights for all religious creeds, and a democratic regime in all areas of social life.

We do not want to turn from the oppressed into oppressors, and from the exploited into exploiters, said Iulia Maniu. We want to enthrone freedom for all peoples and all citizens on these lands. This enlightened spirit has to guide us today to overcome (?differences)—many of which are artificial—which have emerged in the democratization process of our society. Unfortunately, the national order of Europe was once again tortured at the beginning of World War II. Romania bore the tragic consequences of occult and arbitrary back-stage machinations and the consequences of some expansionist and imperialist tendencies.

Romania's round territory was amputated in 1940 under the pressure of the ultimatum given by Stalin's government and by the Vienna Diktat. This injustice done to the Romanian people was partially corrected after World War II. We are convinced that history will seek ways and means to channel all things in their normal direction. [chants]

Now, when Romania is rebuilding its destiny on different foundations in the wake of the 1989 December revolution, may this impressive meeting, which symbolically repeats the 1 December 1918 act—the icon of our national unity—help us in our efforts aimed at social and political conciliation. We will thus assume the responsibility of that dignified generation, which achieved unity. Furthermore, we will be ready at any time to defend it at the price of our supreme sacrifice. [chants of "great Romania"]

Dear compatriots, today we once again join democratic Europe after a long period of isolation caused by the nightmare of the former totalitarian communist regime, with the sincere desire to contribute to a new European unity with what we have best in our country.

The ideals won with bloody sacrifices in the 1989 December revolution marked the beginning of a great and complex process in which everything that is decisive in the destiny of a nation has to be reconstructed—political life, the structures and culture of society, economic reality, and our country's place and role in Europe and in the world. The consolidation of democracy is, of course, a long and difficult road; however, parliamentary democracy—a result of the first free elections—the separation of state powers, a multiparty system, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly and adherence are already facts in Romania.

Totalitarianism as a system has been eliminated. We have opted for a free market economy, for placing our industry on a modern foundation, and for granting land to farmers. The theoretical corroboration and implementation of this option are a logical consequence of the revolution, which marked the definitive bankruptcy of the communist utopia by clearly indicating another philosophical and pragmatic road—namely, the road traveled by the advanced democracies of the present-day world.

It is clear for all of us that the process of renewal and of resettling Romanian society has become irreversible. This is so despite the difficulties we are facing, the convulsions implied by this transition, and the prolongation of the past, which we continue to come across in our economic or administrative structures, in mentalities and attitudes, and in the intolerance and extremism of certain manifestations. It is not easy to emerge from a dictatorship like the one we crushed in December 1989. We must affirm here, on this solemn day, our trust in the wisdom of the Romanian people and in their solidarity.

The legislature and executive institutions, which were freely elected on 20 May, are facing responsibilities, which concern the foundation of the very destiny of our people. Romania's Constitution is being drafted along with the legislation and implementation of economic reforms. We are building—by removing ruins—a society which guarantees freedoms and ensures equal chances, competition and values, initiative and creativity.

The beginning might be difficult, considering the well-known proportions of the injustice and aberration that we have inherited.

Our wish to repair only a few of the most abominable injustices such as granting protection to old people, children, and mothers—even if it is modest at this stage—and ensuring the warmth and light in our homes and ensuring a relative improvement in the supply of food have required great financial efforts. Apart from having to overcome a terrible economic heritage and a low standard of living, we also had the misfortune of a great drought this year. The gulf crisis and the increase of oil prices have increased our difficulties in ensuring important energy and financial sources. We cannot help adding to this the lack of understanding of certain international political and financial bodies.

Esteemed fellow citizens, we do not have easy days ahead of us. On the contrary, our tired country is asked to work with devotion, to work better, and more effectively; there is no other way. Our country, which has been deceived for many years, is asked to believe in an approach which has not yet shown anywhere a successful [word indistinct] in this (?part) of Europe. We will have to find adequate solutions by working together through joint efforts, which will become laws after being discussed in the Parliament. This is the area in which we should carry out an active dialogue. We want this dialogue to be frank, direct, permanent, and maybe even merciless among all parties and political forces and among all the groups and movements which have ideas and programs. Furthermore, in this area we not only accept, but also require, the advice and experience of other countries.

It is natural that legal and executive bodies on one hand and the trade unions and other social forces on the other must hold continuous dialogues within an institutionalized framework.

I believe that the spirit that dominated the moment of the great union should be a symbol and an example for us and others which has to be followed. As a matter of fact, in great moments of our history, the Romanian people have always known how to prioritize their values and interests. I believe we are now we are at a crucial moment in our history when the national interests must prevail, when various social, ethnical, and religious categories and political forces and organization—without giving up on their own interests, diversity, and [word indistinct]—are obligated to find a way toward a constructive dialogue and find solutions which will benefit of our country.

Today, when all of us—those who are present here and throughout the country—[word indistinct] in front of the generation that accomplished the great union, should clearly assume our responsibilities. We should understand that we have to confront major difficulties and that before asking ourselves what does the country give us we should ask ourselves what do we give the country. [cheers, chants]

Romania's broad opening to Europe and the world is being reflected in our relations. Romania itself, being in a full process of great renewal should [words indistinct] chance. Among European countries, Romania should find the place that it deserves and the place to which it rightfully belongs in view of its potential, traditions, and experience.

Romania in general is firmly promoting an active policy of openness and good relations with all countries—primarily with our neighbors. We promote a policy of equal cooperation in a democratic spirit, a policy of esteem and mutual respect.

On our national day, here in Alba Iulia, the symbol of the great unification, I turn to all men, women, old people, and young people in our country with the ardent appeal

to ensure harmony, cohesion, solidarity, active cooperation, enthusiastic and creative work, and to make joint efforts [words indistinct] of our greatly tried nation, of our revolution, and of the cause of our common homeland's progress, of the material well-being, and to ensure the future flourishing of our homeland. Let us see to it that the unified Romania lives and prospers forever. Thank you. [applause, cheers, chants]

Senate President Barladeanu Speaks

AU0112195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1990—The national union of December 1, 1918 completed a century-old historic process in which all the people took part, a people who has kept their language, costume and faith and hope in their soul over the centuries and across frontiers, against vicissitude and injustice, Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, said in his address at a solemn session of parliament in Alba Iulia.

Underlining that the December 1, 1918 events proved the political and moral maturity of the Romanian people in assuming their new destiny, the speaker said: The day we are commemorating today marked not only the conclusion of a historic process. It opened new horizons to our becoming in time. Besides the inherent differences between the historic events of December 1, 1918 and those of December 1990, when we celebrate one year since the revolution, there are similarities and parallelisms which give way to reflection. Like then, we must build and rebuild a country. Like in those days, we are now in need of a national policy. To achieve that, we need peace in factories, in the fields, in the streets, in homes and souls, peace to work and bring up our children, to accede at last, after and through so much suffering, to a quiet life. While respecting the diversity of opinions and conceptions, we should put above party or group interests the general interests of the country, to act as dignified successors to the struggle for Romanian unity and freedom.

PNT-cd Leader Gives Address

AU0212164390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2157 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—The Romanians in Transylvania have lived centuries on end through the power of their faith and awareness of their undying right to rule, though divided between four kingdoms, but they have never been separated in their soul, tradition and language, said, among other things, Corneliu Coposu, leader of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party.

The power of tradition has kept the love of kinship and the confidence in the Romanian destiny alive, he added. The Romanians' highly valuable spiritual patrimony was their wish for union which was eventually fulfilled. Beyond all the centuries-old shortfalls and suffering, the Romanian soul—humiliated and undefeated—has accomplished the long desired national unity on December 1, 1918. We are in duty bound to solemnly pay homage to the great makers of the union and to all those who served its ideals everywhere, safeguarded the people's cause and fought for liberty and democracy, Mr. Coposu also said.

PDSR Leader Cunescu Speaks

AU0212163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2235 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—We have now all gathered in the place where the Great National Assembly proclaimed on December 1, 1918 the union of the whole of Transylvania and Banat with Romania, a feat to which the Romanian social democracy brought its contribution, said Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR].

Surveying the Romanian social democrats' contribution to the accomplishment of the great union on December 1, 1918, Mr. Cunescu showed that the 1,228 delegates to the National Assembly of Alba Iulia included 150 social democrats that represented more than 60,000 organized workers.

The National Council made up of 150 members, a provisional ruling body which was to elect the Steering Council, also included 35 front-ranking social democrats like Ion Fluieras and Traian Novac, the speaker specified.

Therefore, dear country fellows, the social democrats and the Romanian working class as a whole contributed to the accomplishment of that great historic act we are celebrating today, being a decisive factor in the making of greater Romania. Today, after 72 years during which Romania traversed for almost half a century one of the dullest periods in its history, we must decipher in our forerunners' fight the symbol and duty to bring Romania again to the course of its true history.

Most of the social democratic leaders were not only heroes because they eventually became the nation's martyrs, were imprisoned, tortured and deviously killed in communist jails. They continued to fight for national liberty and social justice, the speaker said adding: We do not want to stir up deep sorrow and revolt in the souls of these martyrs' successors and of ours but we want to underscore that historic justice shall have to be restored and the Romanian people shall have to take every measure so that the kinship of these heroic martyrs could no longer become a victim of those thirsty of power and oppression.

Now we think of the future hoping that, thanks to the people's wisdom and the responsibility of its leaders, Romania will resume its moral, cultural and political traditions and will integrate, with its personality, into a united Europe which appears at the horizon of the next

millennium, being determined to carry on the great civilization which unites us.

PNL's Campeanu Addresses Celebration

AU0112195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1990—We have come here, in the heart of this country, where its heart beats, with our soul and mind shrouded in the three colours of this country, said the National Liberal Party [PNL] Chairman and Senate Vice-President Radu Campeanu. On this great day, on this day of national celebration we must be side by side rather than criticise one another. This was the meaning of the December 1, 1918 union and it must become our ideal. Because we have come here to celebrate an event that represents the accomplishment of our national destiny. It would be to our good if we today understood that, after 43 years of communism we should learn freedom. We should learn to be free, show respect for other people's views, respect the others and defend our point of view without offending anybody. And there is one more thing we should never forget. It is the remembrance of that 1918 with all its great and important moments. It is the union of Bessarabia, the resolution of April 10 at Kishinev that Bessarabia should be united to the country. It is the resolution to the same effect made at Cernauti on 28 November which sealed the union of Bukovina with the mother country and then it is the 1 December that brought us the union of Transylvania with the motherland. This is how greater Romania was achieved. It was through these successive dates and that particular sequence of national events that, from the smaller Romania greater Romania was born which we inherit today. And it is incumbent on us not only to carry out in its entirety the destiny of greater Romania and to always bear this in mind, but also to bequeath to our followers the duty to complete what our forerunners did with suffering and their own blood. I believe that there is no single Romanian here or elsewhere who does not know how to read in history's great book that our national destiny is to be united and who does not know how to accomplish this destiny. And that there is not one of us, either here or in any other country, our Romanian fellows, who will ever forget what is written in history's great book and who could not or would not follow the lessons of the great book of laws that stays open before our consciences and before history. May God help us and our descendants to follow our way, concluded Senator Campeanu.

UDMR Secretary General Speaks

AU0212164090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2300 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—We have gathered here to remember an historic act and decision that underlies the modern Romanian state which is a masterpiece of our century's common right, Mr. Geza Szocs stated.

Speaking about the principles that were at the basis of the Alba Iulia resolutions, the senator said inter alia that the citizens of Hungarian nationality in Romania have discovered in these particularly modern ideas such fundamental values as the recognition of their personality and the guaranteeing of the right to live in the native land.

Our conviction is that the first of December can be decently celebrated but accepting without reserves the 1918 decision in its complexity. Seventy-two years ago, by adopting the national assembly's decision, the Romanian people solemnly promised before the entire civilized world to guarantee the ethnic minorities their specific rights. That is why the first of December is a day of symbolic significance for all the ethnic minorities in Romania as well.

It is well we all have come to Alba Iulia to continue and complete the construction of our common home, the common home of Romania, the speaker said in conclusion.

Agrarian Party Leader Surdu Speaks

AU0212164490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2139 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—In our turmoiled history, territorial unity has existed since the time of Burebista's and Decebal's Dacia, and was crowned by the union accomplished by Mihai the Brave. The feeling of national unity has been alive in the memory of each inhabitant of the ancient Romanian land, said Mr. Victor Surdu, deputy of Constanta chairman of the Agrarian Democratic Party.

National unity was crowned for the second time on December 1, 1918 when all like one sanctioned the accomplishment of the great Romania—the unitary Romanian national state—at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia. The nation's wish to carry through this historic act had been defined by Nicolae Titulescu ever since 1915 while saying: Romania cannot be a whole without Transylvania. Transylvania is the cradle that protected its childhood, is the school that trained its nation and the charm that embellished its life. The leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina as well as the statesmen in the old kingdom proved the world in 1918 as well as the contemporaries and, especially, the successors that they knew to build up and lead the events writing down a page of accomplishments after centuries old fight, a page of hope, dignity and victory, Mr. Surdu also said.

On this day of national anniversary sealed by the parliament as a unanimous wish of the whole nation we must not forget those Romanians who, whatever their reasons to leave the ancestors' land, carried with them a handful of its dust. This anniversary is theirs as well, the same as Romania is their motherland for good and all because you have no right to deny your homeland and mother ever.

We must consider this sublime day as the whole-souled anniversary of all Romanians, irrespective of the political or social grouping they belong to or of the place they live in.

Work is under way on the laws' law—the country's constitution. Work is in progress on the land's law so as to restore the ones who made the union at that time and the revolution in last December to their historic rights.

It is hard to toil a land which is not yours but it is still harder to defend it if it is not yours.

May the first of December be forever a day of final victory of the truth over lies, of love over hatred, a symbolic day of the ideals of peace, social justice and good co-existence of all those who live on Romania's holy land, Mr. Surdu wound up.

Mures Senator Ciontea Speaks

AU0212163790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2305 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 01/12/1990—All of us treasure in our hearts two Romanias: the smaller one of today and the greater one of tomorrow, the way it used to be and the way it will have to be, because the Romanian hearth has not been reconstituted yet, said Mr. Radu Ciontea, senator for Mures. But the embers, he added, are still there, glowing in all the cultural heritage bequeathed to us by the Musat and Basarab dynasties, in the values deeply printed in our souls and longings.

Speaking of those who gave their lives, after merging their destinies with those of the Romanians carrying the heavy burden of two homelands, the country of origin and the country of adoption or birth, Radu Ciontea showed that nostalgia and love for the motherland have not and will never be considered enough reason for immoral attitudes that law itself condemns. For it is absurd that, while 30 million Romanians see a greater Romania as almost tangible, a few heated minds should relish on the hallucination of seeing several Romanias. History has called us here at Alba Iulia to bestow on us and our followers the chance of seeing our country again the way it used to be and the way it should be. History gives our enemies the chance, once more, to forget the boundaries they forced on us by theft.

Turkish Democratic Union Leader Speaks

AU0212163990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2302 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—At this first National Day celebration, our thought of gratitude goes to all people who through their sacrifices in Romania's eventful history paved the way for the great union seventy two years ago, said Tahsin Gemil, a Chamber member for Constanta of the Turkish and Muslim Democratic Union, member of a parliamentary group of other than Hungarian minorities. The grandparents and the parents of all of us who make up this parliamentary group today, said the speaker, enthusiastically hailed through public statements the great act of historic justice of 1 December 1918. Our forefathers came from all parts of the world and settled down on this hospitable land in earlier or later times. We have different names and different customs, we speak different languages at home, and some of us say our prayers at different altars, but we are all united in our common faith and love for our dear motherland, Romania, said the speaker.

FSN's Iordache Addresses Rally

AU0112195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1990—Bessarabia, do you see us? Bukovina, do you hear us? We are here together with Transylvania, with holy Moldova, with Wallachia with Banat, with Oltenia, with all the country, here at Alba Iulia, were the opening words of Mr. Claudiu Iordache, chamber member for Timis, first deputy chairman of the FSN [National Salvation Front] Steering Board. Few days in Romanian history command a moral emotion comparable with the first of December. In 1918 the expectations for a full century were fulfilled here, but that fulfilment did not last as long as we would have wished to. So here we are again to rebuild a truth of the world, which is forever to make our country a whole. This morning of our history began at Timisoara on 17 December. It then continued with the hour of blood-stained Bucharest, with the hour of a tyranny-ridded country, with the hour of legitimate provinces which stirred from slavery and are moving toward the light within our blood. There is a god for every people holding the scales of justice. Ours is clad like a Romanian peasant and carries the weapon of a Romanian soldier, and its pulse is a reminder of the deep rhythm of the generations that longed to have him on their side, on that greatest way to Romania's integrity. That founder and prime mover lies behind our deeds. What shall we do with them now, after we exchanged pride for humility, and freedom for slavery? Our answer should be given now, before we depart from this time and from this place which is the princely capital of the unification of the Romanian nation and land named Alba Iulia. And the answer is one—for better and for worse, frightened but also happy as the breath of the new Romanian millennium is approaching, we the Romanian people swear to defend our work and our justice, our language and our customs, our sovereignty and our wholeness, our freedom and our faith in Romania.

Defense Minister Gives Speech

AU0112212290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2145 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1990—Here at Alba Iulia the cradle of Roman Dacia where the great Prince Mihai the Brave achieved the union of Romanians nearly four centuries ago, the lawfully accredited representatives of the inhabitants of Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures proclaimed solemnly and for

ever the union of those provinces with the mother country, on 1 December 1918 completing the historic process of building the unitary Romanian national state, greater Romania said the National Defence Minister Col-Gen Victor Stanculescu.

That page of Romanian history, "a day for all centuries" as it was called, is now, through the victory of the December 1989 revolution, our national day, the holiday of all Romanians, the minister said.

Over the centuries, the human toll was tremendous before that moment of glory was attained. We deeply honour and will remain forever grateful to our many heroes, known or unknown, among which countless were soldiers.

More than 10,000 soldiers who fell during the 1877-1878 war of independence, nearly one million Romanians who gave their lives for the re-unification of the country in 1916-1918 and the more than 700,000 dead, wounded or missing in the biggest and most devastating conflict of this century the Second World War will testify the Romanians love for the motherland, the speaker said.

After a minute's silence was observed in memory of all the heroes of the nation, the defence minister said that ours is a historic time when the country needs unity, order, a sense of work and coordination of all its citizens whatever their religion or language.

The Army of the country is ready to retaliate firmly should anyone ever covet our ancestral land, he said.

We must remind we are a tolerant people cherishing peace and friendship, but we will denounce lies and any attempts against our clear consciences, against our sacred land. The Army is and will continue to be the guarantee for internal stability, the defender of the rule of law and of the lawful institutions of the Romanian state.

Justice, education, work, faithfulness, national solidarity and mutual support at this stage of reconstruction along with the sense of honour should be the basic laws of our state.

We the military renew our oath here at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1990 before the people, before the country, that we will defend with all our heart, with our soul and our blood the sacred frontiers of the country, Romania's unity and sovereignty.

Parliament Issues 'Solemn Declaration'

AU0112211190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/11/1990—In our millenary development as a nation, the day of the great union of 1 December 1918 crowned a long sequence of past struggles and sacrifices of the Romanian people to live within one and the same state—Romania. It is for this reason that the country's Parliament decided that this date should become the national day of Romania, runs the Solemn Declaration of Romania's Parliament, adopted Saturday [1 December] at Alba Iulia.

1 December was the acme of a long historical evolution of the Romanian people which, centuries on end, had to fight to preserve its ethnic entity, to live free and independent in its ancestral land. Its aspiration for state was fulfilled by Mihai Viteazul (Mihai the Brave) who, in 1600 succeeded, for the first time in our history, the union of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia.

The patriotic endeavours of the 1848 revolutionaries and the Romanian people's struggle made the 1859 union of Wallachia and Moldavia possible and thus laid the foundations for the modern Romanian state which, on 9 May 1877 proclaimed its full independence.

Romania's participation in World War I, decided by King Ferdinand I and Ion C. Bratianu's government with nation-wide support, set its target on freeing Transylvania and Bukovina and uniting these ancient Romanian territories with the motherland. Through their fight and sacrifice, the Romanian soldiers contributed to the achievement of this great national desideratum.

On the 27th day of March 1918, Bessarabia's National Council decided its union with Romania and, on 28 November the same year, the general congress of Bukovina decided its union with the motherland.

Two days later, on 1 December 1918, the National Assembly, convened at Alba Iulia, adopted the resolution by which on behalf of all the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures it decreed the union of those Romanians and of all the territories inhabited by them with Romania." The declaration then added that, for the first time in its millennia-old history, the Romanian people could see its national ideal come true. From then on, the Romanians have had their national unitary state.

The proclamation consecrating the union breathed democratic openness and understanding for the problems of ethnic minorities, for their life in the future unitary Romanian state. As the declaration writes, the opportunities were created for them to promote their own culture and educational system, to enjoy the same rights and liberties as the majority Romanians. The principles heralded on 1 December 1918 brilliantly anticipated the democratic ideas, the human and minorities' rights as cherished in Europe nowadays.

In 1918, like in other circumstances, the Romanians had great personalities as their leaders, such as Vasile Goldis, Gheorghe Pop de Basesti, Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Take Ionescu, Nicolae Iorga, Octavian Goga, Ion Flueras and others, who were capable to concert their efforts, cooperate closely and place the fundamental interests of the nation above group, party or social interests.

The historic act of 1 December 1918 at Alba Iulia has sent its deep echoes far into our times.

Today, after almost one year from the December 1989 revolution, Romania has embarked on a renewal process that involves all the facets of its existence. The revolution that toppled the totalitarian communist rule has widely opened the way to democratization, to the expression of freedom and human dignity, to the triumph of political pluralism in Romanian society, to the free expression of political, cultural and religious options of the various social and professional groups and classes, of the minorities.

Attempting its first steps is now a radical economic reform at the core of which lies the transition from an overcentralised economy handed down to us by the communist regime, to a modern market economy apt to meet man's needs.

The spirit too, stifled for decades, is now demanding its rights to self assertion and fulfilment. The Romanian educational system finds itself before the difficult task of being thought out and structured on new criteria in keeping with the development trends of the contemporary world. A similar task lies ahead for Romanian science, given its decisive role and functions in the development and modernisation of any contemporary society.

In such a deep-going and far-from-easy process through which society shapes for itself a different pattern of existence, in tune with the universal democratic values and the general requirements of human development, it is unavoidable that hardships and contradictions should arise. It is therefore vital that our society should find within itself the means to overcome them. It is for this purpose that the country's citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin, social affiliation or political leaning, should choose the road of understanding, of forgiving and forgetting conflicts, of joining efforts for their work-together and for national concord. Of great importance to this effect is the concern for the issue of national minorities for which a democratic solution should be found.

A decisive part to play in the context will have the political parties and groupings which, beyond their specific political interests and options, should bear in mind the major national commandment of the moment: The country's political and social stability, in a continued and deep-going transformation process triggered by the December 1989 revolution.

It is not only the stringent needs of the present that drive us to this goal, but also the great union lesson taught 72 years ago on the very spot we are celebrating it that urges us.

In conclusion, the Solemn Declaration reads: In these festive moments, parliament calls on the Romanian people, on all political groups, on all organisations to do their utmost for the democratic reconstruction and the prosperity of Romania.

No Antigovernment Slogans Reported

AU0112202590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/12/1990—During parliament's special session no anti-presidential and anti-government slogans were chanted. Reactions of disapproval did become manifest however while Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party leader Corneliu Coposu, National Liberal Party Chairman Radu Campeanu and senior Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) executive Geza Szocz took the floor. Disapproval was directed against them as persons, not against the contents of their messages.

President Ion Iliescu and Premier Petre Roman as well as Chamber Speaker Dan Martian asked the crowd to listen to all speakers at moments like these which are supposed to signal the beginning of a genuine national reconciliation, of harmony between all political forces which should rise above their party interests and unite for the general benefit of the country, of all Romanians.

Additional Activities Mark 1 Dec National Day

Folk Dance, Song Festivals Held

AU0212164190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2202 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/12/1990—1 December a day dear to the hearts of the Romanians around the world was marked by a folk dance and song festival.

On outdoor stages in the city park and near the Horea, Closca and Crisan Obelisk, as well as at the Trade Unions House of Culture, popular folk singers and dancers from all parts of the country have performed.

As it was only natural, Romanians who, by an historical injustice, must live among foreigners, were also represented at this great Romanian song and dance festival: the folk ensembles "Plai Bukovinean" of Crasna, "Stefan cel Mare" of Kishinev, "Dumbrava" of Straseni have shown by their performance, that greater Romania "From the Dniestr to the Tisa" as the national poet Mihai Eminescu put it, is one.

An extraordinary show "Long Live Moldova, Transylvania and Wallachia" sponsored by the Bucharest-Kishinev Cultural Society was hosted in the evening by the city's Cetate Stadium.

Cluj Scientific Symposium Held

AU3011211990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The papers delivered by academicians, professors and researchers at

the solemn scientific session on Romania's National Day, at the Cluj-Napoca University, patronaged by the Romanian Academy and the Ministry of Education and Science, disclosed the substance of the Romanian people's unity, recalled the first union of the Romanian countries under Mihai the Brave, the international reverberation of the events preceding the great union, the significance of the first of December, 1918 as an act of historical justice for the Romanians. Highlighted were also the essential aspects of the universality and democratic character of the decisions of the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia, the international sanctioning of all Romanians' historical will, the place of the great union in the Romanian interbellum historiography and literature.

Celebrations Held in Iasi

AU3011200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—Romania's National Day is marked in Iasi by a number of cultural and artistic events. At the "Mihail Kogalniceanu" high school actions were organized, to underscore the significance of the December 1, 1918, event for the whole subsequent evolution of our country in the economic-social field, in politics and diplomacy, in other fields of the spiritual and material life. The series of events includes an exhibition of books and other publications titled "The Great December 1, 1918 Union", at the "Gheorghe Asachi" County Library, which also hosted a literary and musical soiree for children, devoted to the same anniversary.

The conference on "Unity the Basic Idea of the Romanian History" as well as the symposium on "Iasi and the Triumph of the Great Union" were hosted by the State Archives, and the House of the Teaching Staff in Iasi respectively.

Iliescu Holds Reception

AU3011200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—A reception was given by President Ion Iliescu in the Union Hall of the Cotroceni Palace, in marking Romania's National Day.

President Iliescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman cordially conversed with the foreign and Romanian guests.

Warsaw Pact Command Celebrates

AU3011200890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—After 72 years, the bells toll again in the historic city of Alba Iulia where the great union of the Romanians in a unitary state was solemnly sanctioned on December 1, 1918. The sound of bells and the new national anthem "Desteaptate, Romane" (Wake Up, Romanian) remind—and will ever do so—our ancestors' fight for the Romanians' unity, for the country's integrity and independence.

Those were the words Major General Mircea Constantinescu addressed to the participants in the festive meeting organized at the Moscow Staff Base of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries to mark the anniversary of Romania's National Day the first of December.

The festive meeting was attended by Army General P.G. Lushev, chief of staff of the joint armed forces, his deputies, generals and officers.

Romania's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. Vasile Sandru, also attended.

Antitotalitarian Forum Holds Rally

AU3011211890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2038 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—Friday afternoon, the Anti-totalitarian Democratic Forum of Constanta celebrated the December 1, 1918 union through a meeting in Ovidiu Square, attended by nearly 200 members of the political and apolitical groupings in the county.

After underscoring the importance of the historic act of December 1, the speakers set forth the forum's stance on "the steady deterioration of the economic and social situation in the country" and protested against the reappearance of the former Communist Party in Romania's in political scene.

The meeting was preceded by a march started from the headquarters of the Constanta National Liberal Party Branch.

Anti-communist, anti-presidential and anti-governmental slogans were chanted.

News Conference Held in Alba Iulia

AU3011212290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2043 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—A press conference was held in Alba Iulia on Friday to mark the first anniversary in liberty of the Romanian people's National Day the first of December.

The Romanian and foreign journalists' questions were answered by museologists and researchers of the Union's Museum in the City as well as by representatives of the local administration.

Reference was made on the occasion to the Romanian people's fight for liberty, national independence and union as well as to the circumstances under which the Romanian nation celebrates the first of December, the

day when the Romanian national state was formed and the bases of democracy were laid in this country.

PNT-cd Organizes Bucharest Rally

AU3011211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2053 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/11/1990—The Christian Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] organized a rally in the Bucharest Revolution Square on November 30, in marking the great union of the first of December 1918, preceded by a march in the main thoroughfares of the capital.

The participants in the march shouted anti-communist, anti-government slogans and against Romania's president, demanding the resignation of the country's present leadership.

In the Revolution Square, under cold autumn showers, addresses were made from a rostrum dominated by the portrait of PNT-cd historical leader Iuliu Maniu, by a number of the party's present leaders, including Chairman Corneliu Coposu. The speakers evoked the act of the first of December 1918 and Iuliu Maniu's role in the organization 72 years ago of the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia, criticized the actions and program of the former communist regime in Romania as well as the country's present leadership which they opined was incapable of governing. The speakers stressed that the joy of the National Day celebration would not be whole as long as Bessarabia and Bukovina are not together with the country.

Doru Braia was by the speakers' side at the rostrum.

Statements Issued on National Day Celebrations

Presidential Press Office Comments

AU0212195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/12/1990—Yesterday our people celebrated the first of December as the National Day of Romania for the first time. It was an act of genuine historical justice as regards the importance of the great union and our ancestors who accomplished it. Yesterday at Alba Iulia just like across the country it was holiday in each and every home, it was holiday in all our hearts, shows a statement made by the Presidential Press Office.

Unfortunately, this anniversary was shadowed down by certain manifestations which contrasted with the spirit and thoughts that inspired us all at Alba Iulia, with the appeal made by President Ion Iliescu for finding a way toward agreement, social and political conciliation for the country's benefit. Some of the speakers could not even tell their names in silence. What happened during the meeting aggrieved us all the more so as such a reaction on part of the public was obviously biased. It was not due to the content of the addresses made by the three speakers who uttered rational, highly mature and responsible words but to the persons, to the political groupings they were representing and their older or newer acts with a negative resonance in Transylvania.

Moreover, we get still sadder owing to the subsequent commentaries which attempt, we do not want to say whether intentionally or not, to cast a false light on the true causes of what happened. To say, for instance, after which a whole country could watch on the television how the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, President Ion Iliescu and the prime minister tried to calm down the spirits and allow the respective speakers continue their speech, that everything was a frame-up of the president, the government and the National Salvation Front is a defiance of evidence and, implicitly, of good faith.

Likewise, we must call your attention again to the costs and, generally, to the negative consequences of the atmosphere of intolerance, tension and confrontation certain political groupings attempt to nourish by all means and on any occasion, on the eve of the first of December celebration included.

Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, considers necessary to repeat on the occasion as well the appeal for dialogue and understanding, for unity and cooperation he addressed at Alba Iulia to all the political and social forces in Romania, also committing himself to continue his efforts already initiated in this respect.

FSN Steering Collegium Airs Views

AU0212195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/12/1990—In connection with certain regrettable aspects that accompanied the celebration in Alba Iulia, the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front [FSN] expresses its concern over such non-democratic manifestations as well as its hope that they will completely disappear from the Romanian society's life in the near future. We also call on all political groupings and various political factors to show a high sense of responsibility and no longer disunite the civil society owing to petty party interests, to partake of the democratic values recognized and practiced everywhere in free societies and give up false incriminations, incitement and destabilization of political life.

We are puzzled and concerned over the escalation of the untruths promoted by some newspapers the actions of which are intentionally mischievous and obviously falsify the positions and intentions of our political grouping.

War Veterans Protest Festivities

AU0212195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/12/1990—The Romanian League of War Veterans made a statement to show

its protest against the way in which the festivities were organized and held to mark 72 years since the accomplishment of the union.

The Romanian authorities turned this celebration day into a demonstration with an National Salvation Front electoral aim, in which compromised elements that contributed to the 45-year destruction of the Romanian state also took part, shows the league.

We also inform the public opinion in Romania that even our wish to participate in the wreath laying ceremony at the Triumphal Arch was treated just like in the 45 years of ferocious communism.

The protest is addressed to the country's Parliament, to the government and to Mr. Ion Iliescu.

* CADA Wants Trial of Stanculescu, Guse, Chitac

91P20041A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Protest of CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army]"]

[Text] We, the military cadres of Timisoara Garrison, organized in the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA], a committee dissolved in an abusive manner by the Higher Political Council of the Army, informs the population of the country and the entire Army of the following protest which will be presented to all domestic and international fora: Beginning in January, as a result of the latent conflict existing between the population and the army which, in the context of the laws existing at the time, was obliged to execute a criminal order, cadres from Timisoara collectives to which they belong presented a 13-point appeal to Ion Iliescu, the president of the Provisional Council for National Unity, on 12 February 1990. The appeal had enormous repercussions in the Army, since the great majority of cadres supported this appeal, judging by the lists of signatures which we have in our possession. This appeal also had international repercussions. The meetings held in front of the Romanian embassies in London, Paris, and Rome by cadres of the Armed Forces in the respective countries proved this. However, since our demands in the Appeal have been met only to a small degree, we are obliged to bring the following unresolved points in the Appeal to the attention of domestic and international public opinion. Thus, we demand:

l. The findings of the parliamentary commission investigating the December 1989 events which deal with the involvement of the Army in Timisoara should be made public and the military tribunals should comply with the final results of the commission. Also, these commissions should be extended throughout the country, everywhere the Army was involved in the events on the streets.

2. The immediate and unconditional transfer to the reserves of all cadres reactivated after 22 December 1989 and those compromised by the old regime.

3. A thorough analysis and justification of all promotions in rank and position occurring after 22 December 1989.

4. The current military oath should be eliminated and the two proposals by CADA should be analyzed by the Romanian people, the only one which is capable of deciding since the army must belong to the people in law and in fact.

5. The legalization of the associations of military cadres, with the role, place and purpose proposed by CADA and not the guidelines given by the current leadership of the Army.

6. The depolitization of the Army must be real and effective and must eliminate all possibilities of subordination by the poltical power which is leading the country.

8. The incompetence of the leaders, now and at any time in the state of law should not be maintained by the Army against the people.

Under present conditions when there is great dissatisfactioon and unrest among the civilian population and when there is a real danger—as evidence of this note the Ministry of National Defense communique of 14 November 1990—that the Army might be used to keep order, we believe it is necessary to make the following demands:

—The transfer to the reserves of Deputy Minister of National Defense Lt. Gen. Vasile Ionel, the one person responsible for all the contradictory and undemocratic orders in the Army, and the transfer to the reserves of the following officers who have been members of CADA: Lt. Col. Octavian Chiriac, Lt. Col. Silviu Popescu, Maj. Ioan Inel, Maj. Constantin Chiticaru, Maj. Viorel Tocan, Capt. Valeriu Stan. The others will follow Iliescu's order.

—Bringing generals Stanculescu, Guse, and Chitac before the military tribunal in Timisoara, not as witnesses but as persons responsible for elements in the Army guilty of the Timisoara massacre.

We demand that all officers who involved the Army in the events in February, March, and June be brought to bear the responsibility.

[We demand] the restoration of the rights of General Ilie Marin, former commander of the Timisoara mechanized unit, who was transferred to Craiova and not to the ministry as General Stanculescu had promised. General Ilie Marin approved of and supported CADA and his influence in the ranks of the Timisoara military garrison is very great.

Defense Secretary Warns of 'Military Interference'

LD0212154290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Interview with National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic by "military-political commentator" Miroslav Lazanksi in Belgrade; date not given; first two paragraphs are TANJUG introduction]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)— The media showed exceptional interest in the recent visit of Army General Veljko Kadijevic, general secretary for national defense, to Nis, where he spoke to air force and air defense members and attended exercises of this branch of the armed forces. It was yet further confirmation that the voice of the Army could be heard far away and that the public observes the appearances of leading men in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] with particular interest. What, therefore, does the leader of our Army think about the events on the Yugoslav political scene?

Army General Veljko Kadijevic received me in his cabinet, in the building of the Federal Secretariat for National defense, 35 Knez Milos Street, Belgrade. The cabinet is spacious, simply furnished, and highly functional. Later on we walked through the hibernating greenery of Kosutnjak [park]. General Kadijevic was speaking clearly, concisely, not raising his voice. He looked composed, in good physical form, and he was listening to me keenly and with a piercing stare. His every gesture and every word revealed a person who knew what he wanted.

[Lazanksi] General, we are witnessing "stormy", almost dramatic changes in the modern world. Naturally, these changes have not bypassed the sphere of international military-political relations. In your view, what is particularly characteristic of this?

[Kadijevic] In international relations processes have been opened up of negotiations, agreement-seeking, and increasingly intensive cooperation. This significantly reduces the risk of an armed, above all nuclear conflict of world proportions. At the same time, the political appearance of the world has undergone radical changes. The fall of the real socialist system, the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and the unification of Germany have disturbed the balance of forces which until yesterday, in their own specific way, acted as factors for a certain stability. The forces that are dominant today impose completely different rules of behavior. In their effort to make supremacy all-embracing and definitive, they resort to the use of various forms of force. This increases a possibility of local and regional conflicts, including wars.

The further development of the situation is uncertain. Numerous processes have only just begun. It is difficult to predict all the options from the prospective of the present time.

The role and the development of the military factor in the closer vicinity of the Yugoslav society deserve particular attention...

Agreements reached by the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting some types of nuclear weapons and, in particular, recent agreements reached within the framework of the CSCE providing for a reduction in conventional forces, for restraint in threatening the use of force, and for measures to enhance confidence and security, are a major step forward in limiting the role of the military factor and overcoming confrontation. However, almost all countries, including those in our immedaite neighborhood, have compensated for the reduction in the size of their military potential by modernizing their armed forces. Dramatic events in the Persian Gulf have rapidly and convincingly dispersed the illusion that the military factor has no role to play any longer.

[Lazanksi] In the context of the current military-political situation, how do you see the position and the security of the SFRY? Are there any real external dangers to our security?

[Kadijevic] Yugoslavia is not at the moment threatened by immediate danger from abroad. However, as early as tomorrow this may no longer be the case. Continued unfavorable trends in internal processes are conducive to the further erosion of Yugoslavia's position in the world and to increasing interference by foreign factors. Grist to the same mill is the reliance of the leadership of some political parties on foreign assistance. In its military exercises the foreign factor has been toying with the possibility of a military intervention at the invitation of someone inside the country. In light of these external threats against it, the SFRY must not neglect either its integrity or security which primarily depend on the situation in Yugoslav society and on our readiness and determination to counter these factors.

[Lazanksi] How do you view calls for so-called foreign assistance?

[Kadijevic] Those appealing for foreign intervention are traitors of their own people and cannot be treated in any other way.

Any attempt by foreign armed formations to cross the Yugoslav border, regardless of the pretext, will be tantamount to aggression. They will be opposed as aggressors and, as always, will be defeated.

In the past we rejected the policy of limited sovereignty pursued for the purpose of alleged defense of socialism. Now, again, we resolutely reject this same policy, whatever the excuses for it. We cannot accept the theory of limited sovereignty from either a political or a military point of view. This has been our attitude throughout history, and we shall continue to behave in the same way in the future.

[Lazanksi] Where do you see the direct link between internal developments and the security of Yugoslavia?

[Kadijevic] The situation in the country has been seriously deteriorating because many opportunities have been missed to resolve the crisis. Civil war has even become a real possibility. It is self-evident what impact such social trends can have on our security.

[Lazanksi] Even well-meaning people have begun to doubt if Yugoslavia could survive?

[Kadijevic] The Yugoslav idea has been in existence for almost two centuries. Yugoslavia as a state has existed for over 70 years. During the last 50 years of its existence it has been developing on socialist foundations. It has been created by the spiritual and visionary spirit of its most brillian minds and we cannot today allow political mediocrities and chameleons, self-professed leaders and demagogues, and incidental witnesses of tumultous historical trends to bring it to its knees.

A country that lives in the hearts and minds of millions of people, whose foundations encompass the vital interests of all its nations and nationalities and have enormous human casualities built in them, cannot be destroyed. It is a delusion to think that Yugoslavia is a house of cards.

[Lazanksi] Which are, in your opinion, the basic preconditions for success in this, for Yugoslavia to overcome the crisis and emerge on the road of stable and dynamic development?

[Kadijevic] Many allegedly competent plans for emergence from the crisis in "one's own" area, region, republic or nation have been imposed aggressively for a long time now. Their common denominator is the breakup of Yugoslavia. I am convinced that the people will not accept such formulas of self-styled messiahs and political adventurists.

It is only possible to ensure emergence from the crisis and stable social development by the energetic and consistent implementation of wholesale, Yugoslav-wide reforms of the economic and political system. This is, at the same time, a key factor for the country's independence and survival—and more than this—it is a vital question for all of us and a question for the future generations who are only now entering the world.

[Lazanksi] On a number of occasions you have pointed out the firm orientation of the Army in favor of a federal system for Yugoslavia...

[Kadijevic] From the very beginning we have been advocating the concept of a modern federation, a federal state with the most necessary authority and instruments for the effective realization of its functions. We do not do this accidentally. All experience hitherto confirms that Yugoslavia can exist only as a federal and democratic community of equal nations and nationalities. The drawing of boundaries in our conditions would inevitably lead to bloodshed and many victims.

[Lazanksi] Do you also advocate the socialist option of social development?

[Kadijevic] I believe that the socialist idea cannot be rejected because of the crude failures of the real socialist model. Guided by an authentic vision of socialism, we were victorious in the revolution, achieved great successes in the development of society, acquired an envious reputation, and were the first in the world to confront the deformations and failures of the real socialist model. The ideas of socialism, viewed historically, belong to the future. The experience of the developed countries, as well, confirms that they are among the highest achievements of civilization in the modern era.

It is a paradox that something old and historically transcended is being suggested to us as something new. Our ideal cannot be a society in which the rich become increasingly rich, while the poor become increasingly poor, with all the social and other consequences flowing from this. This is why I personally advocate democratic socialism as a modern, economically efficient, politically democratic, legally organized, and, in social terms, just and humane society.

[Lazanksi] The stands of Army members concerning the multyparty system were received in different ways by the public; in some places they were even interpreted as some sort of proof of the allegedly undemocratic and conservative nature of the JNA. It seems, however, that the practice has confirmed that Army stands were justified. Are we right?

[Kadijevic] The JNA was against a one-party monopoly. Alongside with that we have been opposing political pluralism which was directed from the outside and unsuited to our conditions. We have been pointing out that acceptance without critical analysis of solutions coming from the outside, that is the restoration of Yugoslav models of 50 years ago, would inevitably lead to an impasse of nationalist obscurity and madness. We have been forecasting the dangers arising from illusory democratization and the factual establishment of the dictatorship of nationalist unanimity. We have been fighting for the establishment of clear rules of the "political game" such as exist in all democratic countries of the world. The justification of our stands confirms the behavior of not just some parties which fight for power, but also others which have already gained it.

We are witnessing an extremely aggressive attitude on the part of anti-Yugoslav and anti-socialist forces. These are the same forces which were once the cause of Yugoslavia's collapse. During the national liberation war they collaborated with the occupying forces and were politically and militarily defeated. Once again they are facing defeat.

I believe that our public is especially interested in what the Army had done and is now doing to overcome the difficult social situation...

We made our views and stands known publicly, clearly and in a principled manner about the situation in society and ways of overcoming the crisis. Acting in the legal institutions of the system, and working through them, we

have tried to contribute to stabilizing the situation and taming uncontrolled passions. In the most critical moments—proceeding from our constitutinal duties—we took preventive measures and even gave direct warnings, which prevented dramatic outcomes in interethnic confrontations.

The most important thing now is to preserve defensive power to ensure conditions for the concentration of efforts to resolve vital social problems. Unfortunately, instead of uniting together, forces are confronting each other more and more. Instead of reaffirming that which binds them together they insist on differences and divisions in an irrational way. That is why they kept losing battle after battle.

[Lazanksi] Increasingly loud has become the voice of those in the Army who deny the right to any kind of social commitment, and also demanding its complete depoliticization. What is your comment on this?

[Kadijevic] No question, not even the question of political organization and the activity of JNA members, will be solved according to the recipe and the dictation of those who did not create this Army in the first place. We will work on the basis of our own orientations and in accordance with the needs and development of Yugoslav society. In any case, it is well known that no army can be built in contradiction to the fundamental trends of the society to which it belongs.

[Lazanksi] What is the fate of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organization within the JNA?

[Kadijevic] The role of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army results from the role which the League of Communists [LC] had in reaffirming the Yugoslav idea as the foundation of all our victories both during the war and in the postwar period. And while the League of Communists was gradually losing and definitely lost this role in society, we have managed to preserve it in the JNA. Owing to this, the Army has continued to reaffirm and enrich its popular and all-Yugoslav character and to strengthen internal cohesion, moral force and combat capability. The LCY's contribution to the building of the Army can be neither negated nor erased by anyone.

Proceeding from the premise that all parties whose activity is legal and in keeping with the law must be treated in the same way, and that specific features of a military organization cannot be compatible with foreign competition within it, the command will take care that no party is allowed to organize itself inside the units and establishments of the armed forces. Some concrete steps in this direction will follow shortly.

[Lazanksi] What do you think of the formation of the League of Communists- Movement for Yugoslavia?

[Kadijevic] The orientations of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia are closest to the orientations of communists in the Army. Personally I support the creation and activity of this party, which has an all-Yugoslav and socialist orientation. I will do so in the future as well.

[Lazanksi] There is also talk of the possibility of your being its leader.

[Kadijevic] I have no pretensions of this kind whatsoever. My ambitions do not go beyond the limits of what is the Army, the military profession and, through this, the serving of Yugoslavia. There will be no changes whatsoever here.

[Lazanksi] Comrade general, representatives of the Army have, on a number of occasions, spoken of the changes which, recently, have been carried out in the Yugoslav People's Army. The notion exists that these are greater and more rapid than is believed in public. What kind of changes are these, and can one speak of some special kind of military reform?

[Kadijevic] The expression reform is not sufficiently appropriate, because it has associations with something like a campaign and something primarily imposed by force. The changes of which you speak are a constituent part of a continuing process of the Army's adaptation to developments in Yugoslav society and the world as a whole.

As an example I would cite the fact that between 1986 and the end of 1989 the peacetime Yugoslav People's Army was reduced by 14 percent and the wartime one by about 13 percent. In this year alone we will abolish about 10 garrisions.

Large-scale changes have been carried out in the system of management and command, of military education and the overall training of cadres. The programs for the development and education of soldiers and sailors have undergone significant changes. Almost all normative documents in the domain of defense and security are being developed.

Important improvements have been effected in the position and rights of soldiers. For example, soldiers who are believers are permitted to use religious literature and are able to attend religious rites outside barracks and other military facilities. The status of those who are not allowed by their religion to accept and use weapons has been resolved more favorably.

Soon soldiers will be permitted to wear civilian clothese when they go to town.

There are virtually no areas of life in the Army which have not undergone important changes.

[Lazanksi] How will the JNA develop in the future?

[Kadijevic] We will give priority to strengthening the quality of the peacetime role of the JNA. We will try to insure that a 20 percent reduction of the peacetime and wartime armies, which is envisaged in the coming five years, is realized by the end of next year.

Our intention is to halt the unacceptable stagnation in technical modernization, above all in the means of repelling and opposing blows delivered from a distance. In the perfection of management and command systems, the emphasis will be on securing greater mobility, better quality communications, and information-based support.

I point out that stable financing is the basis precondition for the realization of the development plans. I do this because there is more than a small number of those who might want to break up the Army precisely through financial restrictions. There is increasingly frequent haggling and blackmail over the securing of funds for the needs of the Army. Some even resort to stopping the payment of earmarked funds.

[Lazanksi] What will happen with territorial defense?

[Kadijevic] Territorial defense, as created at the end of the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's, is, objectively speaking, a great deceit. Those advocating this kind of territorial defense justified their advocacy for it by the need for organization within the armed forces to adapt themselves to the demands of socialist self-management. Now, when this system has in actual terms been abandoned, they are continuing to insist on the plan up to that point. This is unambiguous confirmation that territorial defense was developed from the very beginning not as an expression of socialist self-management, but as the basis and backbone of republican armies.

A significantly different territorial defense, both in terms of its purpose, its size, and its organization, is needed for the combined form of armed struggle and as the dominant one in our conditions. Territorial defense should not develop as a parallel, second army.

[Lazanksi] A few days ago in Nis, you pointed to some of the most important tasks of the JNA at this point in time. Please tell us something more about how the JNA will act in the event of a deepening political crisis and the possible escalation of interethnic conflicts?

[Kadijevic] The role of the JNA is clearly set out in the SFRY Constitution. There is nothing unknown with regard to its behavior in unraveling the Yugoslav crisis either. The peoples of this country need peace, not war. The Army will insure peace and security as preconditions. Toward democratically resolving the problems confronting us. Its firm moral and political unity and high-level of combat readiness are the guarantee of this, as well as of the completely successful implementation of the JNA's social and constitutional function.

[Lazanksi] Attacks on the JNA have been going on for a long time now. Recently they have significantly intensified. What is this in fact about?

[Kadijevic] Precisely because of their determination to defend Yugoslavia, our armed forces have been exposed to unprecedented attacks and challenges. The main blow has been directed toward breaking up the JNA, because nationalist and separatist forces see the JNA as a great obstacle to the realization of their goals. The blow is being realized directly, and not at all in a concealed way, by the takeover of the recruiting and mobilization system, by penetrating territorial defense, by destroying the system of management and command, and in other ways. In parallel with this is the spreading of an anti-Army mood.

The greatest danger for the integrity and security of the country is to be found in the intensive development of purely national armies. This is done through the abuse of territorial defense, civil protection, national protection, and the services and organs of internal affairs, or in the form of voluntary units and various illegal groups. What would these armies be used for? Against whom would they be moved? They can only plunge us into the abyss of fratricide. No state in the world has several armies. Yugoslavia should not and will not be like Lebanon.

[Lazanksi] How will you insure that?

[Kadijevic] All armed formations established outside the uniform forces as defined by the SFRY Constitution will be disarmed. Those who constituted them will be accountable before the law. There will be no compromise or negotiations because, according to the Constitution and law, this is under the jurisdiction of the armed forces.

[Lazanksi] Some of them will not be pleased with such a definite stand. They will interpret it as a kind of a threat.

[Kadijevic] That is their problem. The Army will work in line with the Constitution and law, and those who try to oppose it by force will be prevented from doing so by force.

[Lazanksi] Talk about a so-called military coup is increasing.

[Kadijevic] This is not the first time that we have a cuckoo in our nest. A story about a coup has always been told with the same purpose—to conceal or justify the intentions of those who wish to break up the JNA and create national armies.

[Lazanksi] We shall feel free to ask you: do you believe that the worst will be avoided? Are you an optimist?

[Kadijevic] I am an optimist inasmuch as such a thing is possible under the present circumstances. I believe that the worst can be avoided. The JNA will do everything in its power in this respect.

[Lazanksi] Your reporter, dear readers, has had an opportunity to talk to a large number of the most eminent commanders and defense ministers throughout the world. Although he is not in favor of any form of local patriotism, the author of this interview feels the need to say that in this case he was in contact with a man who, as few people do, exudes conviction, rationality, calmness, and also decisiveness, leaving no room for any ambiguities.

Turnout in 2d Round Bosnian Elections Said Low

LD0212225990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Today's second round of voting for deputies to the Chamber of Municipalities in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, held in 53 municipalities, was largely characterized by a lower turnout than in the elections on 18 November.

The republican Electoral Commission does not have exact figures on the actual turnout, but reports coming from the polling stations suggest a considerable lack of interest on the part of voters.

Although the polling stations should have been closed by 1900 [1800 GMT] the voting nevertheless went on, because today there were cases of the voters coming to the polling stations at dusk, something that came as a result of a prolonged bank holiday weekend. Reports are arriving at a slower pace, particularly from the polling stations in the rural areas, because of the weather conditions. The republican Electoral Commission says that the first reports will be compiled during the night. The first results may be released tomorrow.

In Banja Luka, the second round of elections will be carried out on 9 December, because, in this municipality, the first round had to be repeated after irregularities were detected. Today the first round voting had to be repeated in six municipalities in the republic.

The low turnout is being explained by the fact that the final outcome was already known in the wake of the first round when the national parties won a resounding victory over the left-wing block and that the voters are tired due to the considerable duration of the electoral procedure.

Durakovic Will Abide by Bosnian Election Results

AU0212150090 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 90 p 3

[N. Idrizovic report: "Revanchism at the Door"]

[Excerpt] The fact that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Social Democratic Party has not even received votes from a large number of its own members will make the party carry out a revision of its membership during the coming period of time and establish the exact number of those it can rely on. What shall follow then, Nijaz Durakovic said at the news conference yesterday, is a thorough transformation of the party that will act in the future as a modern European leftist party. Durakovic said that, in his opinion, the times of national homogenization will pass and that the communists certainly see that they have a future.

The decision of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Social Democratic Party not to participate in sharing the executive power is certainly worth notice, but, Durakovic said, this by no means implies that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Social Democratic Party will fail to carefully observe everything that is happening and harshly oppose any unlawfulness and any attempt to call basic values—primarily the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina—in question.

Durakovic said that although the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Social Democratic Party will not demand the annulment of the elections, one can easily say that the way the elections were carried out at some polling stations was scandalous. Thus, Durakovic said, there were cases of ballot boxes being set on fire or carried away from polling stations and returned a few hours later, of observers from the League of Communists being thrown out, and even of bags full of ballot papers marked with an embossed seal being carried around. Anyway, Durakovic said, he will inform journalists in detail following a thorough analysis of everything is conducted.

At the end, Durakovic sent a message to all voters in which he thanked them for the confidence shown and invited them to continue the joint activity, pointing out that the League of Communists will not give up its decision that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be sovereign within a federal Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Slovene Executive Council Approves Plebiscite

LD3011232690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia at today's session formulated the text of a document explaining the reason for holding a plebiscite on an autonomous and independant Republic of Slovenia.

The statement from the session of the Executive Council says that the text contains "assessments of the possible consequences which might arise if the inhabitants of Slovenia decide that in future Slovenia be an autonomous and independent state." Likewise, it says that "the text of the document also contains the advantages to development of a Slovenia as an independent state, as well as the possible risks, and the tasks needing to be dealt with after the plebiscite."

The above-mentioned document which, it is said, the Executive Council will send to the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia today, sets out in detail, the timetable for, and the speed of Slovenia's economic autonomy. The government thereby clearly stated that it is prepared to accept responsibility for a precisely specified scenario of autonomy, and not for any other scenario.

The statement also stressed that "the autonomy of Slovenia would facilitate the more rapid establishment of a normal economic system and of an autonomous economic policy which suits the Slovene economy, and there is no doubt that it would also stimulate the activation of people's presently dormant creativity. However, the greatest risk for autonomy is represented by the possible responses in other parts of

Yugoslavia and around the world and especially among the international financial institutions. According to an assessment, which was elaborated by the Republican Secretariat for Planning, a 50-percent reduction in sales to other republics would represent for Slovenia an approximately 19 percent drop in production."

Regarding foreign debts, the statement says, "an autonomous Slovenia should not be too afraid because Slovenia has relatively small debts and is capable through its exports of regularly paying off its foreign debts."

"If the inhabitants decide in favor of the autonomy of Slovenia, it is proposed that Slovenia would continue to respect the international agreements which Yugoslavia has entered into with other states and which relate only to the territory of Slovenia. The Executive Council guarantees that the position of the minorities in Slovenia will not deteriorate, because the inhabitants of the Italian and Hungarian nationality would have all the rights currently enjoyed in the autonomous and independent Republic of Slovenia. Members of other nations and nationalities permanently resident in Slovenia will, if they so wish, be able to acquire Slovene citizenship," the statement says.

The Executive Council today did not set a date for the plebiscite, nor did it specify its final standpoint as to what percentage of the electorate must vote for an autonomous and independent Slovenia for the plebiscite to succeed. An agreement on these as yet unresolved questions in connection with the plebiscite should be achieved at the beginning of next week.

Details on Plebiscite Debate Reviewed

AU3011194890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] The Slovene Assembly will undoubtedly adopt the law on the plebiscite on Tuesday [4 December]. From then on, until the end of the month, urgent preparations for the plebiscite will be carried out. Dragoslav Kosaric will tell us about reasons for this obvious hurry:

[Kosaric] The dilemma about what result for this vote can be considered positive is obviously almost no longer there. Namely, Demos [United Opposition] has accepted the compromise contained in the proposal made by Slovene President Milan Kucan—that a turnout of more than 50 percent of those on the voters' lists is needed for a positive outcome of the plebiscite and more than 50 percent of that number must cast a positive vote—but the opposition failed to accept the proposal.

All parties, except for the Liberals, have accepted the other compromise, namely that for a successful outcome of the plebiscite, 40 percent of all voters must vote in favor of it. Demos has accepted this proposal under the condition that the Presidency and the Slovene Government take the responsibility upon themselves.

If one carefully analyzes debates held so far on the plebiscite, it becomes clear that it is a great unknown for all Slovene parties how the citizens of Slovenia who are not Slovenes will vote. This is where one should seek the reason why Demos insists that the plebiscite should be held on 23 December or on 30 December at the latest. All Slovene schools will have their so-called Christmas holidays from 21 December until 5 January. Many non-Slovenes will use this opportunity to take annual leave and celebrate the New Year in their places of origin, from where they came to Slovenia to work. It is assessed that 20 percent of non-Slovene voters will thereby be reduced to about five percent. This is why Demos' had said that in case the plebiscite is adjourned, all responsibility would be taken by the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia and the republican Executive Council.

According to Demos' assessments, in this way they will ensure a majority for the result they favor, although they expect about 20 percent of Slovenes not to turn out for the plebiscite.

Lack of confidence in the non-Slovenes is obvious, although one should expect some national parties of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities to call on their members not to turn out for the plebiscite, but to leave it to the Slovenes alone to decide about their own destiny.

The Serbian Orthodox Church Archbishopric for Slovenia warns and demands of its believers and everybody who, it is said, ethnically and politically feel Serbian, not to turn out for this plebiscite with the desire that the Slovene people can once again alone and sovereignly decide about their destiny. Let us remain clean in this plebiscite just as we did in the case of the one in Carinthia, it is said in the announcement of the Serbian Orthodox Church Archbishopric for Slovenia which will be issued tomorrow.

The Slovene Assembly will adopt the Law on Plebiscite on Tuesday and economic, political, social, and other aspects for and against the plebiscite will be presented then, as well. The decision of those who will have to decide whether they are in favor of or against the plebiscite will depend greatly on these aspects. The plebiscite held in Carinthia in 1920 showed that national feelings do not necessarily have to come before individuals' prospects for daily life. Whether this will also be the case this time remains to be seen.

'Confusion' Over Slovene Plebiscite Viewed

AU0112210290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 90 p 1

[Stevan Sicarov commentary: "Not Known What Is What"]

[Text] A slow procedure and a delay in the Slovene Assembly in making the final decision about the plebiscite will leave only one thing clear: The plebiscite will be held. The process of coordination among the republican caucuses and within the constitutional commission, as well as the Assembly debate that is still to be held, indicate that disagreement still exists only as regards formal issues, that is, about the date of the plebiscite, about who will be allowed to vote, and about the decision concerning the percentage of votes needed for

Slovenia to become an autonomous [samostalan], independent [nezavisan], and sovereign state. The essential part has been decided upon in advance, because all parties and republican bodies agree that the plebiscite should be held. However, this still does not mean that all reasons to hold a plebiscite exactly at this "historic moment" are known or are convincing. Many facts, such as a lack of complete analyses about possible consequences and a lack of international support indicate that Demos [United Opposition] has imposed this decision on others, which is similar to the case of the Declaration on Sovereignty.

At the same time, this means a confirmation of the fact that the ruling coalition's political mode is to dictate conditions, as well as the extent to which the concept of independence may be "watered down." If, as Dr. Tone Hribar claims, the new democratic authorities should be given all power in Slovenia, because the federal authorities still hold some competence in Slovenia, then the hairsplitting about the terms "sovereignty," "independence," and "autonomy" shows that the basic dilemma of the expression "all attributes of power on the Slovene territory" has still not been solved.

The constantly repeated assertion that a plebiscitary decision on Slovenia's state independence does not mean that Slovenia will secede from Yugoslavia leads to a new constitutional and legal confusion of a "state within a state." The expectations of the outcome of the plebiscite to either confirm the present limited independence or bring full independence are therefore the flimsiest part of the concept nobody can fully understand.

In other words, the plebiscite is not going to decide about a course toward Yugoslavia or toward Europe, but will offer a carte blanche to the continuation of a confusion whose final outcome will be either the breakup of Yugoslavia or the breakup of Demos.

Kucan Message to Tudjman Emphasizes Strong Ties

LD0112232390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the talks between Slovene and Croatian political representatives on possible confederal relations between the two nations, Milan Kucan today sent greetings to Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, on behalf of the Slovene Presidency and on his own behalf.

The greetings message said:

"The events that took place 120 years ago confirm that the present endeavors of both our republics to affirm the Slovene and Croatian nations as sovereign and mature European nations and to constitute them as fully free and legal states, and to have them recognized within the European home of equal nations and states, have a very long history. Our common advocacy of a democratic and peaceful resolutions of the Yugoslav crisis and the establishment of new relations between the nations and republics in Yugoslavia, which will be based on respect for the right to self-determination and on the real interests of the Yugoslav peoples in respect of how they should in future organize mutual relations and life so that they do not threaten the equal rights of others or peace and security in this part of, Europe, are also devoted to this tradition and aim."

"I am convinced", Milan Kucan adds, "that our forthcoming meeting in Celje will be an opportunity for more thorough talks on the future organization of mutual relations in the interest of both nations and republics and on a joint contribution to the democratic and peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis."

Croat Party Warns of Movements Toward Civil War

LD2811214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—We are appealing to the democratic public in Croatia and Yugoslavia to resist the adventurist policy in the republics which, by force of their unilateral decisions, are pushing Yugoslavia into civil war or dictatorship or a return to the old system. The Yugoslav Executive Council has not made arrangements for a debate on the declaration on the principles for the signing of a new accord between the republics initiated by the Croat Party of Democratic Changes and adopted by the Croat Assembly. This has to be done as soon as possible to halt the current process of chaotic disintegration of Yugoslavia.

These stands have been put forward in the Croat Party of Democratic Changes statement published in Zagreb today by Ivica Racan during his regular press conference which, stressed Racan, "was held one day earlier because tomorrow is a holiday."

The Party of Democratic Changes wants to make its position clear on the current events that are again escalating the Yugoslav crisis and are threatening to impose an undemocratic solution. The only acceptable way, the party believes, is for the republics to reach an agreement which will decide how, in a peaceful and democratic way, sovereign states can be established in a constitutionally and legally proper fashion. Via a new historic agreement, these states will then either set up a third Yugoslavia and will come to an understanding about parting peacefully.

The Party of Democratic Changes believes that the Yugoslav community idea has not been spent yet. It will accept any solutions that can be reached through a new agreement between the republics and through the fulfilment of the right to self-determination. The party does not accept the only scenario of a chaotic collapse of Yugoslavia, conflict, and civil war.

The statement also makes the assessment that the formation of yet another communist-profile party will

enrich our pluralistic scene, especially so on the leftist side of the spectrum, but only on the condition that this party accepts a multiparty parliamentary system. The links between a section of the leading structures within the new party and the Yugoslav National Army as regards the newly formed party is dangerous and unacceptable. It is even more dangerous that the Army should tie its future and the future of Yugoslavia to any one party. It is therefore unacceptable that military structures should be the initiator and the main force behind the new party. The Party of Democratic changes supports the stand on depolitization of the Army.

Croatia's Tudjman Meets Italian Foreign Minister

LD0212222790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2031 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Italy will continue to maintain friendship with Yugoslavia in the case of a new constitutional system in that country, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis said here today.

De Michelis met in Zagreb, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who briefed him on the current political situation in the republic and his leadership's position on the transformation of Yugoslavia through a democratic dialogue between its nations.

Croatian radio this evening quoted De Michelis as saying that the road chosen by Croatia after the first post-war multi-party elections last April "is a sensible one".

De Michelis said that Italy and all the other EC member countries were resolutely against the use of force to stop the democratic transformation of Yugoslavia and the dialogue between its republics.

Draskovic Outlines Renewal Movement's Platform

AU3011095790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 90 p 16

[Branka Mitrovic report: "The Moderator Felt Sick"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The day that few people believed would come finally arrived—Vuk Draskovic presented to citizens of Serbia the program of the Serbian Renewal Movement on Monday [19 November] night via Mitevic's television, and the 90-minute promotion was not even interrupted even though it did not occur to Vuk to stick to the imposed code of conduct.

The Lie and Lie

This was the first time that a challenge was openly issued to the representatives of the present authorities in Serbia: He did not have anything nice to say about Slobodan Milosevic either and neither Belgrade Television nor POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES fared any better. The leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement said that they lie every day and he even confirmed this with numerous facts and recordings. After this, a great weight seemed to fall from his shoulders. He quickly channeled his initial nerves into proven wit and cynicism, which, to judge by the first reactions, was welcomed by the Belgrade audience with great enthusiasm. That is to say, gunshots were fired throughout Novi Sad as if it were New Year and the female part of the electorate swooned over the freshly pasted posters that have Vuk's picture on them. [passage omitted]

Party Farce

The television promotion by the "Vukites" should in any case be welcomed for several reasons. As we mentioned, this was the first time that anyone had said on television that lies are being spread about the authorities and opposition in Serbia precisely through this medium as well as through Sloba's amenable press. Vuk also asserted that the promotion of parties conceived in this way, whereby they were given homework to do in advance, was a farce. The same strictly determined questions were put to all the parties and this had a soporific and monotonous effect. When Vuk said all this, the moderator all but threw up. He attempted to explain that this was not exactly what was under discussion but the obstinate leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement then advised him to interrupt the program. Of course, there was no criticism after this.

Do not protect us from our viewers and voters, we answer for ourselves, Vuk continued, underscoring that it was only because of the citizens that the representatives of the Serbian Renewal Movement had come to the studio. He said that there would only have been some point in all this, had Slobodan Milosevic also been sitting there and had both he and Sloba been asked questions by these citizens who had been lied to for 45 years, questions which had not been prepared in advance but which interested the people. However, there was no fighting over facts and there will not be any at all as long as the communists remain in power. That was why Vuk went to the studio to deny some of these untruths. [passage omitted]

Serbian Parties Continue To Present Programs

Reformist Alliance Stresses Freedom

AU3011211490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 30 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Alliance of Yugoslav Reform Forces for Serbia, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and features Professor Ivan Djuric, presidential candidate for the Reform Forces Alliance and for the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and Branislav Milosevic, member

of the Presidium of the Alliance of Yugoslav Reform Forces in charge of media policy. Milosevic says that the "Alliance of Yugoslav Reform Forces for Serbia is a part of an all-Yugoslav movement for the reform of Yugoslav society. Reformists want Yugoslavia to exist and rely on those of its citizens who consider a peaceful and comfortable life in Yugoslavia, and not quarrels and debates on its setup, to be most important. The reformists believe that the basic values of a future stable and prosperous Yugoslav society are civil freedoms and rights, a market economy dominated by private ownership and private initiative, based on private, ownership and mutual respect among the people and peoples, whatever their national, religious, and other differences. In a society in which these values are realized there will be no reason for the people and peoples to quarrel or to leave the common Yugoslav house.

"The Alliance of Yugoslav Reform Forces for Serbia supports the program of social reform implemented by the federal government, but we are not the federal government's party or its ideological commission. We are a group of people who are trying to introduce the principles of social reform and its values into the everyday life of their community."

Further on, Ivan Djuric says that his reason for accepting presidential candidacy was patriotism and that he believes "in the third road, that is, in a democratic road which excludes any kind of revenge and revanchism." He adds that "a democratically elected president of Serbia must first do everything to divest himself of power. I think that the existing law, which gives the president of Serbia the unlimited authority of a monarch, a king, is unworthy of the democratic traditions of Serbia and of Europe at the end of 20th century." He adds that "Serbia must have a constitutional assembly which will organize elections on the basis of a constitution, in which a multiparty parliament based on the constitution will be elected. What has been imposed on us does not agree either with the democratic rules of the game or with Serbia's traditions."

Talking about Yugoslavia, Djuric says that for him "Yugoslavia is a choice of reason. I do not believe in the existence of the so-called second Yugoslavia, that is, Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], but I know that the Yugoslav territory does exist." "I think," he adds, "that this territory gives a basis for a reasonable decision on a new Yugoslavia. A new Yugoslavia, if all interested sides—democratically elected representatives of all peoples and republics—agree about it, should be approved of by all of them. They should decide about its name and its content, no more and no less."

Further on, Milosevic says that "in democratically emancipated communities, there is something which is not called into question in the preelection times, and that is the so-called national interest. In other words, one cannot put the existence of all citizens in danger, violate federal laws, call the people's everyday life into question, endanger their social rights, and make their lives difficult only to cause damage to a party. Unfortunately, we are witnessing all that in these times preceding Serbian elections. Serbian citizens are exposed to unbelievable measures by their government which directly makes their lives more difficult. The point of those measures is to show that the federal government is to blame for a bad life."

The second program lasts one hour and features Ivan Djuric; Slobodan Mrvaljevic, candidate for assembly deputy; Mirko Kovac, writer and member of the Liberal Forum; and Radosin (?Prajevic), member of the main committee, who expound further on the party's program by answering questions put to them by an unidentified moderator.

Renewal Movement Sees Federal Breakup

AU1611210790

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 16 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs continuing its series entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" presenting the parties that are to take part in the upcoming republican elections.

Both programs start with the following announcement: "Respected listeners, as you already know, as of 1 November, at this time all parties registered in Serbia have the opportunity to present themselves to the republic. Representatives of the Serbian National Renewal should have done so today. Considering that the representatives of this party have not appeared, you will be hearing music from our studio."

The first program lasts half an hour and consists of music from the studio. The second program, which is due to last one hour, begins in the same way. However, at 1510 GMT, the music is interrupted and an unidentified announcer introduces the members of the Serbian National Renewal who are due to present the party's program. They are: Mirko Jovic, party president, Ilija Gligorijevic, party vice president, and Svetislav Andrejic, the party's Australian representative in Melbourne.

Asked to explain their delay in arriving, Jovic replies: "We apologize for not being able to appear in this morning's program. This was for the simple reason that this evening at 2100 on Belgrade Television we have our, what I could call, central presentation in this electoral campaign, which is our only opportunity to tell a wider circle of viewers and potential voters in Serbia what the Serbian National Renewal is."

Jovic is then asked if the Serbian National Renewal will stand at the elections and he replies: "The party is intensively preparing for the elections. It is preparing its candidates for deputies, as well as its election manifesto, and we will soon be presenting this at our assembly. However, if the minimum of the conditions that we have

set together with the other opposition parties—and that is supervision of the elections and the counting of votes—are not met, we will not stand at the elections because we take the view that the elections cannot be free. For them to be free, the Socialist Party of Serbia would have to be without the advantage of the $300 million that it has spent over three months on its campaign and the advantage of using all state television, radio, media, newspapers, various funds, cars, and professionals in every street—let us say no more. However, what we want and we hope other political parties want too, is that these elections are at least fair. If these elections are unfair right from the beginning, we will not take part in them."

Talking about Yugoslavia after the elections, Jovic says: "We are committed to the state of Serbia; We do not want just any Yugoslavia. Everyone is accusing us of destroying Yugoslavia, but we say that we are not destroying Yugoslavia and we do not want to destroy what is already destroyed. Yugoslavia was destroyed by the victims of Jasenovac and [word indistinct]. Had the Croats just once showed any regret, we would have definitely forgiven them."

Further on Gligorijevic says that the "only imperative" for Serbia's survival is a monarchy of the Karadjordjevic dynasty and puts forward Spain as an example of a successful monarchy.

He says later that: "We think that Yugoslavia should split up and the states of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia should be created from it. Slovenia would stay as it is and Croatia would be deprived of the territories of Dalmatia, Slavonija and Baranja, and Lika which have never been part of Croatia and which even had their own deputies in parliament at the time of the Austro-Hungarian empire. These territories would join the Serbian center with the (?basic intention) of being the state of Serbia."

The three party representatives then spend the rest of the hour allotted to them talking about the party's views on the nationalities issue, religion, education, the party's economic program, and the media.

Green Party Emphasizes Local Issues

AU2311173990

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 23 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Green Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and begins with a recording of Pancevo people talking about the "catastrophic" environmental situation in this town and region of Serbia.

The program then continues with Branka Jovanovic, president of the party's council, and Zivko Cerovic, vice president of the party's executive committee, speaking about the party's program. Cerovic says that the party was set up in February this year and is not a party in the classical sense since it does not necessarily want political power. He says: "The party operates above all on the local level and tries to resolve local problems, but does not refrain from participating in thinking about global aspects." For example, the party calls for a redefinition of global and international relations since ecological problems do not recognize borders.

Dragan Jovanovic, the party's president, says that the party wants to enter parliament and make the people aware of ecological problems. He then goes on to elaborate on local and global aspects of ecology. He stresses the party's aim of making people aware of the need to preventing non-ecological multinational companies' investing their capital in Serbia. As an example of the "aggressivity of multinational companies in Yugoslavia," Jovanovic puts forward the example of Westinghouse. In this regard, he says: "It is clear that Westinghouse definitely participated in the election campaign of the Croatian Democratic Community and helped to bring it to power. Now Westinghouse is going further, toward Serbia, toward Bulgaria, and toward the liberated Eastern European countries." He then expounds further on Westinghouse's involvement in the Yugoslav nuclear industry.

Jovanovic concludes this presentation by saying that the Green Party will participate in the elections in Serbia despite the fact that it had originally called for a boycott. He says that the party wants to enter parliament "to participate in the creation of a new ecological civilization, a new ecological project for the world."

In the second program, which lasts for an hour, Branka Jovanovic, Zivko Cerovic, Vladimir Ajdacic, president of the party's program committee, (Refik Secibovic), vice president of the party's council, and Dragan Jovanovic answers questions put to them by an unidentified moderator. Jovanovic begins by saying that in the light of the boycott that was announced today by some Serbian opposition parties, the Green Party will make a final decision on an election boycott tomorrow.

The five party representatives then expound further on the environmental aspect of the political scene and ecological issues in general.

Milosevic Misses Scheduled Appearance

AU0312103190

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 3 December, jointly with

Pristina, Novi Sad, and the Serbian radio network, carries the following announcement:

"Respected listeners, as had been set by the drawing of lots, Comrade Slobodan Milosevic should have come to present himself to voters as presidential candidate from now until 1200 [1100 GMT]. Owing to his previously planned obligations, Comrade Milosevic could not come to our studio, so we shall continue the program according to the regular schedule."

Montenegrin Opposition Party Abandons Elections

AU3011183490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 90 p 2

["D.V."-signed report: "The Authorities Do Not Want Competition"]

[Text] Titograd—After the Montenegrin Democratic Party, the Montenegrin Federalist Movement [Crnogorski Federalisticki Pokret] has also decided to suspend its election campaign and to withdrawl from the Montenegrin elections. In a communique issued to the public yesterday, the movement states that "at present Montenegro lacks the most basic democratic conditions which would facilitate the normal course of election activities and guarantee citizens their first honest multiparty elections. In an atmosphere in which the party in power is using all means available to preserve and legalize its position of total power with Bolshevik methods of repression, one cannot talk about fair competition and regularity of the elections."

The communique issued by the Montenegrin Federalist Movement states further that "there has been a drastic abuse of all democratic achievements, ranging from the media to children and schools, which in all civilized societies must remain outside all preelection campaigns and must be spared ideological abuses. How can one continue the preelection race with a party which has entered all pores of the social organism, in both the propaganda and the police sense, and created such a mental mood that school children are given homework with topics such as: 'With Momir Bulatovic [presidential candidate of the Montenegrin Leauge of Communists] to the Better Future.' How can one continue the election race with the party in power," the Federalist Movement wonders, "when the newly founded party's enterprise finds overnight 39,000 billion [as published], that is, 10 million Deutsche mark. How can one continue the election race with a party whose leaders, Bulatovic and Djukanovic, publicly say that they 'will not forgive' those who do not hold the same views."

List of Montenegrin Presidential Candidates

AU3011160690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 90 p 2

["S.V."-signed report: "A List of Candidates"]

[Text] Titograd—The latest information of the republican Electoral Commission states: All three candidates for the president of the Presidency of Montenegro have received substantially more than the necessary number of signatures required to run in the elections. The order of the candidates on the list corresponds to the number of votes received:

Momir Bulatovic, candidate of the League of Communists (10,134); Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, candidate of the Alliance of Reform Forces (3,626); and Dr. Novak Kilibarda, candidate of the People's Party (2,138).

The list of the 14 candidates for membership in the republican Presidency has also been drawn up. They are: Svetozar Marovic, Hazbo Nuhanovic, Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, all from the League of Communists; Bozo Kovac, Zarija Lekic, Slavko Perovic, and Paljoka Camaj, from the Alliance of Reform Forces; Slobodan Berberovic, Momir Vojvodic, Dr. Rados Knezevic, and Professor Dr. Boro Filipovic, candidates of the People's Party; Professor Dr. Slobodan Fujacic and Dr. Sefer Medjedovic are independent candidates; and Dr. Novica Vujosevic is the candidate of the Socialist Alliance of Montenegro.

Candidates Make TV Appearance

AU3011165990 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 90 p 6

[Unattributed TANJUG report on discussion between Montenegrin presidential candidates Dr. Novak Kilibarda and Momir Bulatovic on Titograd Television; date not given: "For a Federation Only"]

[Text] Titograd—Answering the question about how he saw Montenegro in Yugoslavia, Dr. Novak Kilibarda said that one should first wait and see what is going to happen with Yugoslavia and whether it will exist at all. The People's Party was the first party in the country that expressed the view that the peoples of Yugoslavia should decide on what kind of Yugoslavia they want in a referendum. If Yugoslavia is to be set up as a federation, then Montenegro will be one of its equal federal constituents. If Yugoslavia is to be set up as a confederation, the People's Party is not considering the possibility of Montenegro's surviving in that confederal state.

Momir Bulatovic replied to the same question in the following way: "Since the first day of entering the leadership of the League of Communists of Montenegro, we, as individuals and as a political party, have been accused of selling Montenegro. Of course, we have not done that, nor do we contemplate doing that. We are simply not considering anything else. If the disintegration of Yugoslavia does take place, people will communicate not through politics, but through force and a civil war which will be used to find some other solutions.

Kilibarda and Bulatovic also commented on the failure of the third presidential candidate, Ljubisa Stankovic, to show up. Kilibarda said that he was sorry if Stankovic

was prevented from coming by family reasons, and that he did not accept any other reasons. Bulatovic said that those who were affected most by Stankovic's failure to show up was the Montenegrin public.

Markovic Presents Montenegrin Reform Alliance

LD0212223790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Bijelo Polje, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia faces major changes and will pull through, intact and without great losses, only with the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia, federal prime minister and the alliance president, Ante Markovic, said today at the party's presentation in Bijelo Polje, Republic of Montenegro.

Markovic underscored the determination of the party—founded at his initiative last July—to fight for a unified Yugoslav market and against all those who, defending their own narrow interests, form independent states and introduce customs dues.

Speaking on the economic situation in Yugoslavia, Markovic said that, in spite of all the difficulties, the federal government's program, implemented since January, has enabled the functioning of the market, the convertibility of the national currency and substantial foreign currency reserves.

Markovic promised that, along with the easing of political tension in the country, around 100,000 small and medium-sized firms would open next year and employ several hundred thousand people.

The presentation of the Alliance of Reformist Forces in Bijelo Polje was held before a packed auditorium, and many sympathizers were left outside.

Twenty-six parties will compete for 125 seats in the republican Assembly in the first multi-party elections in Montenegro on December 9. There are three candidates running for the republican president.

According to the 1981 census, the smallest Yugoslav republic had around 600,000 inhabitants. Most of them are orthodox Montenegrins, and there are around 80,000 Moslems and 38,000 ethnic Albanians.

Addresses Party Rally in Kotor

LD0212095890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2148 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Kotor, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Braving the windy and cold weather tonight over 1,000 members and supporters as well as cautious people gathered in Kotor's largest square to witness the promotion of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Yugoslavije—SRSJ] for Montenegro. Ljubisa Stankovic, the head of the reformist forces in Montenegro, and Ante Markovic, chairman of the SRSJ Initiative Committee, were also among this party's champions from Kotor, Tivat, Herceg Novi and Budva.

Stressing that they wanted Montenegro to be a subject rather than an object in Yugoslavia, the reformists pointed out that they were the most numerous party in Monenegro and that they were, save the Yugoslav People's Army, the only integrative force in our country.

Amid ovations of "Yugoslavia and Ante, Ante", the top man of the SRSJ stressed as he complimented Kotor and Boka Kotorska that we were at a historic juncture.

He said that in Yugoslavia we have already created something that is to be awaited for decades by some of those in Europe who have embarked on changes. Saying that there would be difficulties, Markovic stressed that there would be no blood. All those who demand their own armies and arms are doing nothing but defending their positions and status while we need not war but a new modern Yugoslavia, Ante Markovic said.

The SRSJ for Montenegro today also promoted itself in Bijelo Polje and Bar.

Montenegro Opposes Confederal Model for Nation

AU3011160490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Nov 90 p 4

[S. Vukasinovic report: "The Confederal Model Is Unacceptable"]

[Excerpt] Titograd—The confederal model is unacceptable for Yugoslavia and cannot represent the basis of a discussion about the future setup of the country—this is the stand of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

As Professor Dr. Slobodan Blagojevic, president of the Constitutional Court of Montenegro, graphically explained yesterday, this would, first of all, amount to the obliteration of the Constitution and then Yugoslavia.

Therefore, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, with the full consent of state organs and the top representatives of political parties in the republic, has opted for a Yugoslavia as a federal democratic state, leaving room for all people in Yugoslavia to agree on the content of such a setup. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Opposition Calls for Election Postponement

AU3011213890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 90 p 2

["M.A."-signed report: "Instructions From 'Exile'"]

[Text] Pristina—That the stories about illegal elections in Kosovo—which would be organized by the former Kosovo Assembly and government whose members are in exile—are not empty, was confirmed yesterday in a statement signed by Iljaz Ramajlji, former vice president of the Kosovo Assembly. It states that the multiparty elections in Kosovo have indefinitely been postponed

"until further notice," that is, "until conditions have been created for the Serbian police and authorities to leave Kosovo."

The statement, which was distributed yesterday and bears the heading of "the Republic of Kosovo," and "the [Kosovo] Republican Assembly," says that the elections have been postponed because of the circumstances in Kosovo, because it is not possible to hold elections the way it was planned.

The statement was sent to only "a couple of selected" addresses in Pristina via telex. There was some confusion as to where it came from. The latest information indicates that it was sent all the way from Paris. It is thought that this was done only to hide the whereabouts of the former delegates and officials of the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council.

New Opposition Bloc Founded in Vojvodina

AU3011202790 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 90 p 5

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "The Third Opposition Bloc in Vojvodina"]

[Text] Novi Sad—The third unofficial opposition bloc has been founded in Vojvodina. The bloc should be a rival to the two biggest parties in the elections for the president of the republic and deputies to the Assembly. This was stated yesterday at a news conference held in the premises of the Alliance of Reform Forces in Novi Sad.

In addition to the Alliance of the Reform Forces for Vojvodina, the agreement was also signed by the leaders of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Vojvodina Forum, the Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina, the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina/Yugoslavia, and the Alliance of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Yugoslavia in Vojvodina. An agreement about the joint appearance in the elections was reached in principle with the leadership of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, the People's Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, but the agreement refers more to the second rather than the first round of elections.

Assembly Ratifies Montreal Ozone Protection Pact

LD3011130490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1118 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly has ratified the 1987 Montreal protocol on the control of substances harmful to the Earth's ozone layer, the Yugoslav Government Secretariat for Information announced today.

Yugoslavia has also ratified the 1985 Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer earlier this year.

Yugoslavia thus accepted all international obligations: to control the production of aerosol products, cooling equipment, polyurethane foam, fire equipment and other products containing freon and halon—the substances which, when used in great quantity, create ozone holes in the atmosphere.

The Yugoslav Government today also announced the possibility of the World Bank granting a credit for a quicker adaptation of the Yugoslav industry to the demands of the Montreal protocol.

Although Yugoslavia ratified the international regulations on the protection of the ozone layer only this year, its industry has reduced the use of harmful substances by 20 per cent since 1986.

Under international regulations, the production and use of substances which damage the Earth's protective ozone layer should completely be abandoned by the end of the century.

Italian General Consulate Opened in Ljubljana

LD0112225190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1953 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—A general consulate of the Republic of Italy was opened in Ljubljana this evening. Italian Foreign Affairs Minister Gianni de Michelis, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke at the formal celebration.

Gianni de Michelis noted that the opening of the general consulate of Italy in Ljubljana is practical confirmation of the fruitful cooperation between Italy and Yugoslavia. "We want the Yugoslav republics to exploit the opportunity the whole of Europe now has, and that is to overcome tension. We do not wish to interfere, and we do not wish to give advice," De Michelis said, "but this does not mean that we do not wish to have talks as friends in an open and sincere way. Being so close means offering possibilities and collaborating in these processes of integration and cooperation."

Milan Kucan stressed that Slovenia wishes to take part as a constituent element in the development of the European home, as an equal partner. "We will enter Europe as an equal element and as a member capable of dialogue. In the realization of our ambitions, we expect the support of the international public, and especially of our neighbors." Budimir Loncar, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, greeted the Italian minister and all Italian friends. "The opening of the Italian general consulate in Ljubljana, in one of the six Yugoslav centers and the political, cultural, and economic center of the Slovene nation and of its identity, is yet another logical step toward the path which has been mapped out for a long time now," Budimir Loncar stressed.